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HISTORY
OF
CANADA;

FROM ITS
FIRST DISCOVERY,
TO THE
PEACE OF 1763.

By WILLIAM SMITH, ESQUIRE;
Clerk of the Parliament and Master in Chancery of the Province of
Lower Canada.

NE QUID FALSI DICERE AUDEAT, NE QUID VERI NON AUDEAT.

VOL. I.

QUEBEC:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
BY
JOHN NEILSON,
1815.

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ERRATA.

Page 35, Line 8, dele without.

— 59, — 10, for *before*, read *after*.

— 83, — 11, for *Canada*, read *the Colony had*.

— 87, — 16, for *shot*, read *short distance*.

— *ibid* — 29, for *receipt*, read *receiving intelligence of*.

— 133, — 4, for *reigns*, read *reins*.

— 140, — 6, for *learn*, read *teach*,

— 149, — 2, for *Beuharnois*, read *Beauharnois*.

— 188, — 4, for *exceed*, read *less than*.

— 191, — 12, for *acts*, read *arts*.

— 241, — 25, read *a spot*.

— 249, — 30, for *for*, read *from*.

— 256, — 22, for *it*, read *English fort*.

— 276, — 27, for *up*, read *away*.

— 287, — 15, for *supported*, read *supplied*.



TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

ROBERT

EARL OF CARDIGAN,

&c. &c. &c.

AS A MARK OF SINCERE ESTEEM

FOR HIS LORDSHIP'S NUMEROUS AMIABLE QUALITIES,

AND DISTINGUISHED VIRTUES,

AND OF GRATITUDE FOR HIS FRIENDSHIP,

This work is inscribed,

By

THE AUTHOR.



PREFACE.

CANADA of late years, has been an object of such enquiry, that a knowledge of the early settlement of the Colony is eagerly desired by all. While it was under the dominion of France, several histories were published, but none have given a narrative of events subsequent to the period when Charlevoix finished his History. The present work will embrace the occurrences down to the period when he ended, and also, those events that took place between that period and the Peace of one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three.

As to this work, I can say with truth, that I have collected my Materials from the most authentic Docu-

ments. The Colony Records, the Jesuits' Journals, and Charlevoix's History, have furnished me with a mass of valuable information. From these, and other authentic sources, I have formed the present Compilation; and, I can honestly declare, that in the whole distribution of the matter, I have faithfully detailed every occurrence, without the least partiality or prejudice.

WHEN I began this Narrative (it does not deserve the name of a History) I intended it only for my private use: I well knew the detail of the occurrences of an inconsiderable Colony, so long struggling in its birth, could afford but little amusement to Gentlemen of Taste, and under this impression, I had relinquished all idea of publishing it. The solicitations of my Friends at length prevailed, and I consented to put this Narrative to the Press, in the hope, that it might be serviceable to the Public, by giving, as it does, a true and faithful account of a Colony daily augmenting in Wealth, Prosperity and Happiness: now fortunately placed under the dominion of Great Britain, and with a Constitution framed after her own—a Constitution which has long been the envy and admiration of the World; and by its happy combinations in establishing and assigning to its various

branches, rights, peculiar to each, but necessary to the preservation of all, has been found in the harmony and co-operation of all its powers, to give the best practical effect to its principles, and to lead directly to that system of efficient Government, best adapted to the spirit and happiness of a Free People.



THE
HISTORY
OF
CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

*From the discovery of the Colony, to the surrender of the
West India Company's Charter in 1674.*

THE efforts of Europe, during the fifteenth century, 1492. to find a passage to the East, led to the discovery of America. Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, employed by Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Castile, discovered, in the month of October, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, one of the Bahama Islands, and afterwards the Continent. It was, however, reserved to Americus Vesputius, a more obscure navigator, in the service of Ferdinand of Aragon, to draw maps of the new discoveries, and to give them his own name. As the quantity of gold and silver, brought by Columbus into Spain, and the incidents of his voyage, had been greatly magnified, Henry the VIIIth of England, intent upon wealth, in the year, one thousand four hundred and ninety-six, commissioned

- CHAP. two seamen, by the name of Cabot, to make similar re-
 1. searches.—Sebastian Cabot, in the service of Henry the
 VIIIth, in sailing north-west-ward, in hopes of arriving
 at the East Indies, explored in the year, one thousand
 four hundred and ninety-eight, the greater part of the
 American coast. At length, when Francis I.* of France,
 perceived the glory and advantage which Spain and o-
 ther nations derived from the discovery of America,
 every encouragement was held out to his subjects to in-
 duce them to engage in similar enterprises; fortunately
 for his views, there was then resident in France, a Flo-
 1523. rentine, John Verrazani, an excellent seaman, of a bold
 and enterprising mind, and eager to undertake a voyage
 which he considered might be no less honorable than
 profitable to him. The King, on Verrazani's accepting
 1524. the commission, ordered a vessel to be prepared for him,
 in which he immediately sailed; but, after a short time
 being at sea, from stress of weather, he returned to
 port. The next year he sailed, again, in another ship,
 called, the Dolphin, and proceeded to Madeira, where
 remaining until the month of January of that year, he
 left that Island, and after fifty days passage, arrived at
 Florida in America; he then ranged along the coast
 from the twenty-eighth to the fiftieth degree of north la-
 titude, and took a nominal possession of the country
 which he called, "New France." The accounts he
 1525. brought, by no means answered the expectations of the
 French King; Verrazani was therefore ordered to pur-
 sue the same route the next year. Unfortunately, howe-
 ver, for him, he had no sooner landed on the Continent

* "What," said Francis I. of France, jocosely, "Shall the Kings of Spain and Portugal divide all America between them, without suffering me to take a share as their brother? I would fain see the article in Adam's Will that bequeaths that vast inheritance to them:—Encyclopedic, Vol. 4. p. 695.

than he was inhumanly murdered by the Savages.* CHAP. 1.
 No further attempts were made until ten years afterwards, when Admiral Chabot represented to the King of France, the importance and advantages, that might arise from the establishment of a Colony in the new world, from which the Spaniards derived so much wealth. No person appeared more fit for such an undertaking, than Jacques Cartier, of Saint Maloe. The King therefore appointed him for this service, and two vessels of sixty tons each, and manned with one hundred and twenty-two seamen, were immediately provided, on board of which he sailed from St. Maloes, on the twentieth of April; and on the tenth of May, came in sight of Bonavista, in Newfoundland, and anchored in the harbour of Saint Catherine's. After passing a few days here, he ranged along the Labrador coast, crossed a Gulf, which he called, Saint Lawrence, and anchored in a Bay, which, from the excessive heat he experienced in the month of July, he named, the "Baye des Chaleurs." He then coasted towards Gaspé Bay, where he remained a few days, the better to acquire a knowledge of the natives, and to observe the face of the country.†

WHILE Cartier remained here, he erected on a height of land, a Cross, thirty feet high, on which

A 2

* Charlevoix,---Vol. 1. p. 8.

† On Cartier's arrival here, the Indians frequently pronounced these two words, *Aca Nada*, nothing here; from which it is supposed the name of the Country, Canada, has been derived. These words were first taught them, it is supposed, by the Spaniards, who had visited this Bay, and finding no mines, pronounced these words, which the Indians repeated to the new Adventurers. Others have derived it from the Indian word, *Kanata*, pronounced, Canada, which signifies a Collection of Huts. Lescarbot, however, states, that the Indians of Gaspé, called themselves, Canadians, which name is, also, confirmed by Champlain. *Histoire général des Voyages*, Vol. XIII. P. 28. Champlain, Part. II. P. 197.

CHAP. 1. was suspended a Shield, with three Fleurs de Lis, carved on it, with this Motto, “*Long live the King of France.*” While the ceremony was performing, the Savages beheld it with earnest attention. Cartier and his people knelt down before it, and prayed devoutly, with their hands up lifted to Heaven : and as soon as the ceremony was over, he went on board his Ship. At the same moment, an Indian Chief, clothed in a Bear’s skin, attended by three of his Sons and his Brother, went into a Canoe towards the vessels : when he had approached sufficiently near to be heard, he began a long oration and pointed to the Cross just then set up : he then shewed them, the Country round about, giving them to understand, that it was his, and that they should not have it, without his permission : while the Indians were along side one of the ships, two Sailors leapt into their Canoe, and forced two of them on board : Cartier endeavoured to pacify the Chief, and assured him, that they should be treated kindly, that they should return again to their own Country, and that the Cross was merely intended as a guide to them on entering the Port, when they should return. To these assurances, he added a present of Hatchets, and knives, which so much pleased the Chief, that he returned perfectly satisfied. Leaving Gaspé on the Twenty-fifth of July, he entered the Saint Lawrence, so far as to see the opposite shores, where meeting with head winds and boisterous weather, he sailed for France, and arrived on the fifth of September at St. Maloe’s.

1535. As these discoveries had excited great curiosity, and as Cartier was desirous of improving the spirit that then existed for such enterprises, he represented in the

strongest terms, the advantages that would arise from a Plantation on this part of America. Vice Admiral de Mailleraye warmly espoused the design, and represented Cartier's merit to the King in such a favorable point of light, that an equipment of three vessels was ordered for the next year. With these he sailed on the nineteenth of May, and experienced, such tempestuous weather, soon after he left France, that the vessels separated and never joined until the twenty-sixth of July, at the Bay of Castel's in Newfoundland, the rendez-vous fixed on, in the event of their separation. He then traversed the Gulph of Saint Lawrence, passing between the Island of Anticosti, and the Northern shore: after he had explored the coast, he proceeded up the River St. Lawrence, and on the second of September arrived at an Island, which he named, Bacchus, now, Orleans. After mooring his vessels, he went on shore with several of his people, accompanied by the Indians he had taken with him, on his former voyage. The natives frightened at his approach, fled with the greatest precipitation, nor could they be persuaded to stop, until they were told, that their countrymen, Toagnoagny and Domagaia were with them. As soon as they heard this good news, their fears began to subside, and they shewed their joy in skipping and dancing. Several Chiefs came to the ship's boats, and brought Fish, and Maize, in return for which they received Trinkets and other Baubles. The day after Cartier's arrival, Donnacona, the Chief of the Tribe, attended by his followers, in twelve canoes, paid a visit to Cartier. The Chief began a long oration, moving and twisting his body in the most grotesque and antick postures, and expressed his joy on their arrival. He then addressed himself, to the two Indians, and desir-

CHAP. 1. ed them to relate what they had seen in France, and to inform him what treatment they had met with from Cartier. They assured him, that so far from having any cause for discontent, they had received the utmost kindness, since their departure. Donnacona, to express his gratitude for this conduct, desired Cartier to stretch out his arm, which he stroked and kissed with great eagerness, and then laid it about his neck, as a token of his friendship. Cartier in return for the Chief's kindness, presented him with provisions and wine, for which he received Donnacona's thanks, who attended by his people, regained the shore. A short time after this interview, Cartier intimated to Donnacona his desire to visit Hochelaga, the most considerable Village in the Country, but the Chief so far from being pleased with it, used every argument to dissuade him from it. Cartier, however, intent on the design, secured his vessels at Port de St. Croix, * and sailed on the nineteenth of September with his Pinnace and two other boats up the River, and arrived on the second of October, at Hochelaga † As soon as he approached the shore, about one thousand persons went to meet him, with expressions of joy on his arrival, offering Cartier, Fish and Maize, in exchange for which knives and beads, were given them. Cartier and his people slept on board their boats that evening; the next morning, Cartier in a sumptuous attire, with twenty-five of his men, went in procession to see the Town of Hochelaga; when within a short distance of it, they were met by a Sachem, who

* Champlain, Vol. 1. P. 10.

† The River St. Charles, at the mouth of which was situated Port de St. Croix, was so called, in honor of Charles des Bouës, Grand Vicar of Pontoise, founder of the first mission of Recollets of New France. La Potherye, Vol. 1. P. 125.

† Now Montreal.—

saluted Cartier, with great courtesy, and shewed signs of hearty welcome. In return for this civility, he presented the Chief with two Hatchets and several knives, and hung round the Chief's neck, a Cross, which Cartier, desired him to kiss. Cartier and his people, then passed through large fields of ripe corn, in the midst of which was situated the Town of Hochelaga. It was circular, encompassed with three lines of palisades, through which there was one entrance, well secured with stakes and bars. In the inside, there was a rampart of wood, with ladders to mount on it, where large stones were collected for defence. The Town consisted of fifty Huts, built with stakes and covered with bark. The fire was placed in the center of the Huts round which were their lodging places, floored with bark and covered with skins. In the upper part, there was a place where they dried and preserved their Corn; to prepare it for eating, they pounded it in wooden Mortars, and mixing it with water, they baked it on hot stones. Besides Corn, they had Pumpkins and Squashes.

CHAP.
1.

CARTIER and his people were then conducted to a large square in the centre of the Town, where a number of women, brought their Children to be touched, by these strangers, and prepared Matts, which they spread on the ground, desiring them to sit down. The Chief of the Tribe was brought on a Litter, on the shoulders of ten men and was placed on a mat, next to Cartier. He was about fifty years old, and had no mark of distinction, but a wreath of porcupine quills, dyed red, which he wore on his head. This, he took off and presented it to Cartier, with a request, that he would rub his arms and legs, trembling with the Palsy. Several other persons

CHAP. afflicted with different disorders, addressed themselves to

1. Cartier, whom, they considered, as a superior Being, sent from Heaven, with the power of healing diseases. Cartier sensible how little equal he was to such a task, endeavored, however, to gratify them, by laying his hands on the sick, offering up, prayers to Heaven, for their speedy recovery. The men, women and children were then arranged in separate bodies, and presents of hatchets were given to the men, beads to the women, and trinkets to the children. He then ordered the drums and trumpets to sound, which pleased the Indians so much, that they began to dance and skip about, with great joy.

CARTIER after the ceremony was over, expressed a wish to ascend the mountain, near the foot of which the Town was built, to which he was immediately conducted by the natives. From the summit of the mountain, he discovered an immense extent of fine country, interspersed with rivers, woods, hills and islands. To this mountain, Cartier gave the name of Mont Royal. * Cartier's people, observing the course of the river above several falls, the natives informed them, that they might sail up the river for three months, that it run through two or three great Lakes, beyond which there was a Sea of fresh water to which they knew no bounds; and that on the other side of the mountain, there was another river, which ran in a contrary direction, to the south west, through a country, free from snow and ice. They told Cartier, that there had been found such metal as his Silver whistle, and the haft of a Dagger, belonging to one of his people, which was gilt. The In-

* Now called, the mountain of Montreal.—Charlevoix, Vol. 1. P. 13.

Indians, were shown some copper, when they pointed to the northward, and they said it came from Saguenay. On the fourth of October, the visit being ended, Cartier embarked again, and was conducted to the water-side by the natives, and on the eleventh of the same month, arrived at Port de Saint Croix; he found his people busily employed enclosing the ships with a palisade and rampart, in consequence of Cartier's determination to remain the winter in the country. The day after Cartier's return, Donnacona invited him and his people to his hut, where they were entertained with their usual festivity, and presents were interchangeably made. Among the things, that attracted Cartier's attention, were five scalps, spread and dried, like parchment. The Indians told Cartier, they were the scalps of five prisoners of the Toadameni nation, who came from the south, and with whom they were continually at war. They observed, that these people used the leaves of an herb, (tobacco) which they preserved in pouches made of skins, and smoked in stone pipes. It was very offensive to the French, but the natives valued it, as contributing much to the preservation of their health. The ships had still on board a considerable quantity of salt provisions, and some fish had been caught and cured for the winter. Early in the month of December, the scurvy broke out among Cartier's people, which raged with such violence, that before the month of February, out of one hundred persons, fifty were ill at the same time, and ten had died. In this distress, Cartier appointed a day of solemn humiliation and prayer. A crucifix was fixed on a tree, and as many as were able to walk, joined the procession, singing psalms and performing other

CHAP. 1. devotional exercises ; at the close of the solemnity, Cartier made a vow, “ That if it should please God to permit him to return to France, he would go in pilgrimage to our Lady of Roquemede,” but it was necessary to watch as well as to pray ; to prevent the natives from knowing their weak and defenceless state, he obliged all who were able, to make as much noise as possible, with axes and hammers ; and told the natives, that his men were all busily employed, and that he would not suffer any of them to go from the ships, till their work was done. Notwithstanding every precaution, the scurvy still continued to carry off a number of Cartier’s men, and by the middle of March, twenty-five more fell a sacrifice to the disease, and the others were so weak and low in spirits, that they despaired of ever seeing their native country. Cartier, who had escaped the disease, walking on the ice, met Domagaia, who had been afflicted, as well as several of the natives, with this disease. He told Cartier, he was then recovered, by making use of the leaves and bark of a tree, which he had used as a remedy : two Indian women, were dispatched, and several branches of it, were procured. Cartier, was then told, that the way to make the decoction was to boil the bark and leaves, to drink the liquor every other day, and to put the dregs on the legs of the sick.* By the frequent use of this medicine, the happiest effects were produced, and early in the month of April, they were completely cured ; several of the people who had venereal complaints of long standing, were, al-

* Champlain, Part 1. p. 124.

The tree is supposed to have been the Spruce Fir, *Pinus Canadensis*. It was called *Ameda* by the natives.—Spruce Beer is known to be a powerful antiscorbutic.

so cured by the same means. The spring, at length CHAP. 1.
 arrived, when the ice in the month of April, began to
 break up. On the third of May, Cartier took possession
 of the Country, by erecting a Cross, thirty feet high, on
 which was suspended a shield, with the arms of France,
 with this inscription: *Franci cus Primus, Dei Gratia, Fran-*
*corum Rex, regnat.** The same day, Donnacona, accom-
 panied by the two Savages, who had been in France, visit-
 ed Cartier on board; while they were regaling themselves,
 Donnacona and two other Indians were seized, and con-
 fined on board Cartier's ship. The next night the na-
 tives came down to the shore, howling and beating their
 breasts, crying out for their friends. Cartier, at first re-
 fused them admittance, but on his assuring them, that he
 would bring them back again, they reluctantly consent-
 ed to Donnacona and the other Indians' departure. On
 the sixth of May, Cartier sailed from Port de Saint
 Croix, touched at Saint Peter's, in Newfoundland, and
 arrived at Saint Maloes on the sixth of July, one thou-
 sand five hundred and thirty-six. The Indians that were
 taken to France, had been so often told of the necessi-
 ty of baptism in order to salvation, that on their arrival,
 they were, at their own request, baptized, but neither
 of them lived to see their native land again.

THE favorable report made by Cartier, of the nature
 and fertility of the country, confirmed by the Indians
 he brought with him, induced Francis I. to send Cartier
 on another voyage. † Francis de la Roche, Seigneur 1540.

* De Laet, Vol. 1. p. 58.

† Cartier's Commission.—Memoires des Commissaires de Sa Majesté très
 Chrétienne, et ceux de Sa Majesté Britannique.—Vol. 3, p. 280.

CHAP. or Lord of Roberval, was appointed the King's Lieutenant and Governor of New France and Hochelaga.
 1. Cartier was appointed chief Pilot, and had five vessels under his charge. Though the time had been long fixed for sailing, yet from the inactivity of Roberval, the vessels could not put to sea at the time appointed. The King, impatient that Cartier should sail, without loss of time, ordered him to proceed on his voyage without the Governor, who was to follow him, at some future time. Cartier left Saint Malo on the twenty-third of May, with five ships, victualled for two years, and experienced during his voyage such tempestuous weather and head winds, that he did not arrive until the month of August, at Port de Saint Croix. As soon as they anchored, the person, who had succeeded Donnacona, as Chief, came on board, attended by several of the natives, to make enquiries after him and the rest of their friends. They were informed, that Donnacona was dead, and that the rest were married, and had been made great lords, and that though they had been particularly solicited to return, yet, they could not be prevailed upon to revisit their native country. They expressed on this occasion neither resentment nor sorrow, but a secret jealousy, excited by an answer, which was by no means satisfactory. Cartier disembarked his provisions, and sent two vessels back to France, with letters to acquaint his Majesty with the progress he had made, and to signify to him, that Roberval had not arrived. Cartier remained a year in Canada, and as no tidings had been received of Roberval, he resolved to return to France. On his passage, he put into Saint John's, Newfoundland, where he met Roberval, the Governor, on his way to Canada, with two hundred Settlers. Cartier stated to

him the reasons that had induced him to leave Canada, adding, that the natives had shewn much aversion to the planting of a Colony in the heart of their country, and that he believed, they were determined to prevent a settlement of Frenchmen, among them. Notwithstanding these discouraging accounts, Roberval insisted on Cartier's returning with him, but Cartier, being determined to proceed to France, in the course of the night, he sailed, unperceived, from Saint John's, and returned to his native Country, Roberval, mortified and disappointed at Cartier's conduct, prosecuted the voyage, and anchored in July, at the place Cartier had left. The first object that engrossed his mind, was the safety and protection of his people. He erected two forts, one on a commanding eminence, which he called, Charlesbourg Royal, and another at the foot of it; here he deposited his provisions, ammunition, artillery, and the implements of husbandry he had brought. Not far from the fort on the eminence, were some rocks containing chrystals, which they denominated, diamonds, and on the shore were picked up certain specks, of a yellow substance, which their imaginations refined into gold. Iron ore was also found, and a kind of black slate, of an apparent metallic substance. And several specimens of the chrystals were sent to France. As he proposed passing the winter here, he provided himself also with fish, and whatever game the country afforded, and even with these, he languished out a tedious winter. In addition to this distress, Roberval exerted such severity in his government, that one man was hanged, several were laid in irons, and some of both sexes, underwent the discipline of the whip. During the time he passed here, he and his people suffered much from the scurvy, of

CHAP. which fifty of them died, and all of them being dissatisfied and discontented, they sailed in the month of June for France, not having been able to make any permanent settlement in this Country.

1.
 THE spirit for discovery had been interrupted, by a civil war, which lasted for near fifty years in France, and which was terminated by the valour of Henry IV. After which period, the former spirit was again renewed. The Marquis de la Roche, a gentleman of Brittany, obtained letters patent * containing the same powers, that had been granted to Roberval. The necessary preparations were speedily made, and he sailed with a number of convicts that had been taken out of the goals in France, for the coast of Nova Scotia.† On his voyage, he fell in with the Island of Sable, where he landed forty of his miserable crew, until he could survey the coast, and find a proper place for the Settlement he had in view. Whether the Marquis ever reached the Continent, is uncertain, but it is but too true, that he returned to France, leaving these unfortunate people to their hopeless fate. Here they remained seven years, with no other subsistence but what they could get from a few fish they occasionally had taken, and the only cloathing they had, consisted of the skins of seals; at length, however, Henry IV. of France, deploring their dreadful and hopeless situation, sent a Ship to take them off, the Captain of which, upon his arrival, found only twelve of the forty, in existence. They were brought to France, and presented to the King, in their seal skin dresses and long beards. The King, in consideration of their

* Memoires des Commissaires, &c.—Vol. III. p. 310.

† Called by the French, *Acadie*, or *Acadia*.

long sufferings, pardoned their former crimes, and ordered that fifty crowns should be paid to each of them. The Captain, who brought them back to France, concealed the generous intentions of their Sovereign, and took all the skins they had collected, as a recompence for his trouble. Among which were a number of black and blue foxes of great value. Apprised of the fraud on their arrival in France, they instituted an action against him, and recovered large damages.

CHAP.
1.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ill success that attended the Marquis de la Roche's undertaking, various applications after his death, were made to the King for the renewal of a similar Commission. As Mr. de Pontgravé had made frequent voyages to Tadousac, and was well acquainted with the value of the Fur Trade, which he considered might be profitable, if an exclusive privilege could be obtained; he addressed himself to Mr. de Chauvin, who at that time, had great interest at Court: A memorial was immediately presented to the King, who granted Chauvin the same privileges that had been conferred on la Roche. They were jointly concerned, and sailed together for the Saint Lawrence, in search of peltries and furs, which they obtained in great abundance. Chauvin, however, did not live long to enjoy his profits and advantages. While preparing for another voyage, he died in France. He was succeeded by the commander de Chatte, and by a number of Merchants of Rouen, who were formed into a Company, with a view of carrying on the Trade and making Settlements in the Country. A squadron of ships was fitted out, and the command given to Pontgravé, accompanied by Samuel de Champlain, a brave and experienced seaman. They

1600.

1603.

CHAP. 1. remained at Tadousac for a short time, and then sailed up the Saint Lawrence, and anchored at a place called by the Indians, Quebec,* and this he thought would be a proper place for a Fort and Settlement. He then sailed for France, and found on his arrival, that the Commander de Chatte was dead, and that a new patent had been given to Mr. de Monts, † constituting him Governor of the American Territory lying between the fortieth and forty-sixth degree of north latitude, with an exclusive privilege of Trade to Acadia and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, during the term of ten years. The patent was published in all the maritime towns of France. De Monts equipped two vessels, and sailed on the seventh of March, for his new Government. Champlain and Petrincourt accompanied him. They formed settlements at Saint Croix and Port Royal, and retained quiet possession of Acadia, until they were attacked by Sir Samuel Argal in the year one thousand six hundred and fourteen, by the command of Governor Dale of Virginia, ‡ when their settlements were broken up. While these attempts had been made in Acadia, De Monts and his Company conceived, that great advantages would result from the establishment of a Colony in the River Saint Lawrence by the extension of the Fur Trade, and in the hope of penetrating westward through the Lakes to the Pacific Ocean, and by that means, of finding a nearer communication with China. With this view, one of their vessels had been sent in the year one thousand six hundred and eight, to

* Quebec, in the Algonquin language, signifies, a Strait.—Champlain, Vol. I. p. 115.—*Quebejs*, alias, *Quebec*.—Douglas, Vol. I. p. 92.

† Lescarbot—*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*. Vol. I. p. 417.

‡ Chalmer's Political Annals.—Vol. I. p. 82.

the River Saint Lawrence, commanded by Champlain. CHAP. 1.
 In a former voyage, he had marked out a trait above the Island of Orleans, as a proper place for a Fort. 1608.
 As soon as he arrived at Quebec, which was on the third of July, he began to clear the woods, ordered houses to be built, and laid out gardens for the inhabitants. He passed the winter at this place, and some of his people suffered much from the scurvy. As soon as the navigation was open, he went up the river Saint Lawrence, attended by several Indians, to explore the Country, and on his way to the southward, he crossed a large Lake to which he gave his own name, which it retains to this day. On the shores of Lake Saint Sacrement, now Lake George, he met a party of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, who were then at war, with the Canada Indians, an action ensued, and the party of the Five Nations was defeated. Champlain killed two Indians with his own musket, and he brought fifty scalps in triumph, to Quebec. In the Autumn of the same year, he returned to France, leaving Captain Peter Chauvin in the command, and on the following year returned to Quebec, to establish a Colony of which, he is justly considered, the Founder.

As de Monts had lost his privilege of trade, Champlain found it necessary to revisit France, in the hope of procuring a powerful protector to forward the settlement of the Colony. None were more desirous of favoring his views, than the Count of Soissons, who had obtained the Vice Royalty from the then reigning Queen. 1610.
 He readily delegated his authority, and appointed him, 1611.

CHAP. his Lieutenant. * On the death of the Count, the Prince
 1. de Condé was appointed Vice Roy of New France, and
 1612. he continued Champlain in the command, and obtained
 letters of incorporation for certain merchants of Saint
 Malo, Rouen and La Rochelle, who had formed them-
 selves into a company. Champlain pressed on this so-
 ciety the necessity of sending out Settlers, and stated to
 them, the want of spiritual aid ; by his entreaties, four
 Recollects, were prevailed upon to leave France for this
 country, and they were the first Priests, that settled here.

1620. THE Prince de Condé disposed of the Vice Royalty,
 to his brother in law, the Marshal de Montmorenci, for
 eleven thousand crowns. As the Marshal entertained
 the highest opinion of Champlain, he was continued as
 Governor, and he brought out his family to Quebec.
 During the course of four succeeding years, Champlain
 went to France, to state to the company the wants of the
 Colony, and what it stood in need of, but both the crown
 and the company were so indifferent as to the advance-
 ment of the settlement, that had it not been for the cou-
 rage and resolution of Champlain, the plantation would
 have been broken up. The Five Nations had been very
 troublesome, they had made frequent incursions in the
 country. And they had been long jealous of a settlement,
 which they feared might bring about an alliance, be-
 tween the Algonkins, Hurons and the French, and by
 that means, give the latter the superiority over them.
 They therefore took the resolution of reducing their
 power. A party of them attacked Sault Saint Louis,
 1621. where there were several Frenchmen, but were repul-

* Champlain, Part 1. p. 231.

sed. They however, made Father Poulain, a Recollect, CHAP. a prisoner, and he was fastened to a stake to be burnt 1. alive. To save him from this cruel death, the French proposed to exchange him, for one of the Chiefs of the Five Nations, that had been taken, which being acceded to, he was released. Another party invested the Recollect Convent on the banks of the River Saint Charles, where there was also a small fort. Not daring to attack the fort, they fell on some Huron Indians, near it, whom they murdered in the most cruel manner and then retreated. The late attack from the Five Nations, and the want of every article of supply, from the criminal negligence of the company, induced Champlain to send an Agent to France, to represent to the Government the deplorable state of the Colony. The Government, from the statement that had been made, suppressed the former company, and granted an exclusive privilege to two brothers of the name of De Caen.

CHAMPLAIN, desirous of affording security to the 1623-4. little Colony he had established at Quebec, which at that time only consisted of fifty persons, men, women and children, ordered a Stone Fort to be built. As soon as the Fort was finished, Champlain went to France with his family, to represent to the Government the distressed state of the colony. On his arrival, he found that the Duke de Montmorenci had disposed of his Vice Royalty to his nephew, the Duke de Ventadour, who had taken orders, and had long retired from the noise and bustle of the world. His object in taking charge of New France, was not so much with a view of promoting its temporal, its spiritual concerns was the

CHAP. chief object of his care : the conversion of the Indians,
 1. had long engrossed his attention, and as the Jesuits had
 his conscience in keeping, he considered them, as the
 1625. fittest instruments for the accomplishment of his designs. These Jesuits, Fathers L'Allemand, Masse, and de Brebeuf, and two lay brothers, men of exemplary piety and character, undertook the mission, and arrived with Champlain at Quebec, who had been continued by the Duke of Ventadour as Governor of the Colony.* They were well received by the Recollects, who received them at a small house, they had built on their arrival, in the year one thousand six hundred and fifteen, on the scite of which, stands the present General Hospital, near the River Saint Charles.

1627. THE conduct of the Caens, who were totally engaged in the Fur Trade, and great fomenters of the religious disputes that then existed between the Catholic and Huguenot settlers, which latter religion they professed, induced the Cardinal Richelieu to revoke the privileges that had been given to the de Caens, and to form a more numerous Company, composed of men of property and credit, in the hope of securing a permanent establishment in the Country. The Government, to favor this plan, granted a Charter to a Company, called "The Company of One Hundred Associates."† The privileges granted were : That the Company should be proprietors and masters of the Settlements in Canada, with a power to govern as they thought proper, to declare war and to make peace : that they should have the whole trade by sea and land, for the term of fifteen years, ex-

* Champlain—Part 1 p. 30.

† Memoires des Commissaires—Vol. 1. p. 346.

cept the Cod and Whale Fishery, which was declared free and open to all adventurers: that the Beaver and the Fur Trade in general, should belong to the Company for ever. The King gave them two ships of three hundred tons each. Twelve of the principal members were raised to the rank of Noblesse. Gentlemen, and even the Clergy, were invited to share in the concern. The Company were allowed to import and export all kinds of merchandize, and other commodities, free of any duty whatever. Such persons who exercised any trade for six years in the colony, were free men in France, and could carry on their trade in that Kingdom without molestation. The Company † on their part, agreed to bring into the Colony, in the year one thousand six hundred and twenty eight, two or three hundred Settlers; and sixteen thousand more, before the year one thousand six hundred and forty three. They agreed to provide them with lodging and board for three years, and afterwards to grant them as much cleared land as was necessary for their subsistence, and a sufficient quantity of grain to sow these lands, for the first year.

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1.

FORTUNE by no means favored the endeavors of Government; war had been declared between England and France, and several of the vessels of the Company were taken by the English fleet. Sir David Kirk, with an armament from England, conducted by William de Caen, who, on the loss of his exclusive privilege, denounced vengeance against his native country, advanced to Tadousac, and from thence sent a summons to Champlain to surrender Quebec. Champlain consulted the

1628.

† Their capital consisted of 100,000 crowns.—Abbé Raynal, Vol. VIII, p. 82.

CHAP. inhabitants, and on their determination to support him,
 1. he sent so spirited an answer, that Kirk, ignorant of
 the weak state of defence of the town, turned his attention to the attack of a convoy, which he captured, under charge of de Roquement, who had on board several families, and provisions of all kinds. In the month
 1629. of July of the subsequent year intelligence was received, that an English fleet had been seen, a few leagues below Point Levi, and the armament under command of Kirk's two brothers Lewis and Thomas, shortly made its appearance in the harbour, opposite to the town. As soon as the vessels were anchored, an officer landed with a white flag, to summon the city to capitulate. * They

* SUMMONS FROM LEWIS AND THOMAS KIRK.

SIR,

Our Brother having last year, informed you, that sooner or later he would take Quebec, he desires us to offer you his friendship and respects, as we also do on our part; and knowing the wretched state of your Garrison, we order you to surrender the Fort and Settlement of Quebec into our hands, offering you terms that you will consider reasonable, and which shall be granted on your surrender.

CHAMPLAIN'S ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

It is too true, that owing to the want of succours and assistance from France, that our distress is very great, and that we are incapable of resistance.—I therefore desire, that you will not fire on the Town, nor land your Troops, until the Articles of Capitulation can be drawn up.—19th July, 1629.

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION, PROPOSED BY CHAMPLAIN.

That Messrs. Kirk shall produce the King of England's Commission, by virtue of which, they summon the place to surrender, as an evidence that war had been declared between France and England. That they should also produce authority, by which they were empowered by their brother, David Kirk, Admiral of the English Fleet, to treat. That a vessel should be furnished for transporting to France all the French, without excepting two Indian women. That the Soldiers should march out with their arms and baggage. That the vessel to be provided, to carry the Garrison to France, shall be well victualled, to be paid for in Peltries. That no violence or insult, shall be offered to any person. That the vessel to be procured, shall be ready for departure three days after their arrival at Tadousac, and that they shall be transported to France. They answered—That

assured Champlain they were well acquainted with the distressed state of the Colony, and the want of all kinds of provisions, and that if he would surrender the Fort, he should have the most generous terms. Champlain, unable to withstand the threatened attack, readily assented, and on the following day, Kirk took possession of the Fort, and treated the inhabitants with great humanity, and few or none of the settlers left the country. And thus was the capital of New France subdued by the arms of England, just one hundred and thirty years before its final conquest conferred immortality on WOLFE.* As it had been determined that Lewis Kirk was to command at Quebec, Champlain embarked on board the ship commanded by Thomas Kirk, and proceeded to Tadousac, where they met the Admiral, Sir David Kirk, with the remainder of his fleet. After remaining at Tadousac until September, they sailed for England, and arrived at Plymouth on the twentieth of October of the same year.

ON Champlain's arrival in France, he found the minds of the people divided, with regard to Canada. Some thought it not worth repossessing, while others were of opinion that the Fur Trade and Fisheries, were objects

they had not the Commission from the King of England, but that their brother had it at Tadousac. That they were empowered by their brother, to treat with Mr. Champlain. That a vessel would be provided, and if not sufficiently large, they would be put on board the ships of the fleet to England, and from thence be sent to France. That the Indian women could not be given up, for reasons to be explained when they met. That the Officers and Soldiers should march out with their arms, baggage, and other effects; and that the Priests should be allowed their books and effects.

* It is much to be regretted, that no Monumental Pillar or Stone Column has been erected on the Plains of Abraham, to the memory of this Hero,

CHAP. 1. of vast national importance, as well as a nursery for seamen. These sentiments aided by the strong solicitation of Champlain, induced the Government to negotiate for the restitution of the Country, and it was restored to France along with Acadia and Cape Breton, by the treaty of Saint Germain en Laye. The whole of the French settlements at this time were very inconsiderable. The fort at Quebec was surrounded by a few ill built houses, and the whole population did not exceed one hundred persons, men, women and children : At Montreal there were only three or four contemptible log houses : As many at Three Rivers, and the like number at Tadoussac. A few Huts, for fishing, had been erected on the banks of the Saint Lawrence. And these were the whole of the French settlements in New France.

1633. THE company by the peace, became repossessed of their former rights. Champlain was re-appointed Governor, and brought with him a number of respectable Colonists; several Protestants had offered to settle in Canada, but they were expressly refused. Along with them, came over to Quebec, two Jesuits, who were sent out for the conversion of the Indians, and for the education of the youth of the settlement. On the first
1635. establishment of the Jesuits, an idea had been entertained by René Rohault, son of the Marquis de Gamache, who had entered that order, that a Seminary or College for the education of youth, and the conversion of the Indians, might be attended with the most beneficial advantages. Several circumstances had retarded the proposed plan, but at length Rohault, obtained permission from the General of the order, and offering six thousand crowns of gold as a donation, in the month of December,

the foundation was laid of this building. Amidst the joy this useful institution inspired, the most melancholy event happened to the colony in the loss of their worthy and respectable Governor ; he died in the month of December, to the deep regret of all good men. Champlain was a man of superior talents, and of upright intentions ; he was active, enterprising and valiant, and possessed such a zeal for the propagation of Religion, that it was a common saying of his, “ That the Salvation of one Sou was of more value than the conquest of an empire!!! *

CHAP.
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ON the death of Champlain, the colony was committed to the care of Mr. de Montmagny, a gentleman of abilities and integrity : he highly approved the conduct of his Predecessor and followed his measures, as best calculated to promote the advancement and prosperity of the Colony. He drew up a statement of the condition of the Country, its wants and necessities, which was forwarded to France, and to which he received no favorable answer. It is singular, that a Company so powerful and rich, should have neglected a Colony standing so much in need of their fostering care, to give it stability and permanency. Though the temporal concerns of the Colony, had been neglected, an establishment for the conversion of the Indians, was begun this year at Sillery, and twelve families settled at that place. The Indians soon became remarkable for their good behaviour, and for their observance of the duties of religion. Two other institutions were also wanted, one for the education of the female children, and another for the sick. The Hotel Dieu was founded as an

1638.

* Charlevoix—Vol. I. p. 197.

CHAP. Hospital, and the year after, the Ursulines began their
 1. Convent at Quebec, under the patronage of Madame de
 la Peltrie.

1640. As the peopling and fortifying the Island of Montreal, with a view of repressing the incursions of the Five Nations, and the conversion of the Indians, had occupied the entire attention of the first Missionaries, Mr. Maissonville brought over several families from France for that purpose, and he was invested with the government of the Island. This immense domain was granted by the Company, on the seventeenth of December, one thousand six hundred and forty, and confirmed by the King on the fifteenth of February, one thousand six hundred and forty-four, to the Saint Sulpicians of Paris, and the whole Island destined for the support of this Religious Order.

1647. ON the recal of Mr. de Montmagny, he was succeeded by Mr. de D'Aillebout, who had been Governor of Three Rivers, and who was well acquainted with the interests of the Colony; he made repeated applications to the Company for succours, but he met with the neglect that his predecessors had experienced.* He
 1648. sent an Agent to Boston, to propose a perpetual alliance between the New England Colonies and New France, by which each was to engage with the other, to

* Wood, for fuel, was this year publicly sold. The price was one shilling and three pence Halifax Currency, per cord. The price of Bread was fixed at seven pence half penny for a loaf of six pounds weight. The price of Labour was one shilling and three pence per day, exclusive of the Labourer's board and lodging. A Servant's wages were, by the year, four pounds three shillings and four pence, and a pair of shoes; Eels were sold in the market, for one farthing per hundred.—Forty thousand had been taken from August to November, at Sillery.—Jesuit's Journal.

act when necessary, in making war against the Five Nations. However desirous the English Colonies might have been to form such an alliance, the condition respecting the Five Nations was not approved of by them, and the negotiation was broken off. CHAP. 1. 1650.

D'Aillebout resigned the government into the hands of M. de Lauzon, who had been one of the associates in the Company, and had always had a principal share in its affairs; though his appointment had taken place, the year before, he did not arrive until the twelfth of October of this year. The Five Nations, who had been for many years at war with the Hurons, and whose successes had emboldened them to despise them and their French allies, resolved on the attack of Three Rivers, at that time enclosed within a palisade and entrenchment. On their approach, Mr. Duplessis Bochart marched out with a few men to attack them, when a skirmish ensued, in which he lost his own life, and the French party was routed. Though they did not succeed in taking the place, they made incursions in various parts of the Country, and spread horror and devastation with an undistinguishing hand.

THE Jesuits, who in the early settlement of the country were merely Missionaries, obtained a patent,* by which they acquired a licence to purchase lands and hold property as in France. The property the Jesuits possessed in this country, in after times, was acquired by grants from the Kings of France; by grants from the Company of New France; by gifts or donations.

* Petit Droits des Colonies Françaises—Vol. II. p. 441.

CHAP. 1. from individuals, and by purchase. The principles of the order of the Jesuits, are expressed in their Formula : Perpetual Poverty—Chastity—implicit obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff—and to dedicate their time and talents to the instruction of youth.* The Jesuits, in conformity to the object of their institution, dedicated themselves to the conversion of the Indians, and when the number of the French Colonists encreased, they built a College at Quebec, assisted by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants, and by gifts and grants of real property by individuals, to carry into effect the main object of their institution. This Society at a subsequent period, was abolished by the King of France † throughout his dominions, permitting, however, the members of the Society to live as individuals, they behaving as faithful subjects. This Edict subjected the Jesuits to residence in the dioceses in which they were born, but not to live within ten leagues of Paris. And by an arret of the Parliament of Paris of the ninth of May, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, the Society was declared inimical to all legal authority, to the person of the Sovereign, and to the tranquility of the State, and its members were banished for ever out of the King's dominions, under the penalty of a criminal prosecution if ever they returned, and the like penalty on all those who should receive or hold any correspondence with them. The property the Jesuits held in this country was very considerable, and on the death of Father Casot, ‡ the last of that order, their property became vested in the Crown. §

* Constitutions of the Order of Jesuits—Vol. II. p. 166.

† Edict dated in November, 1764.

‡ Father Casot died in March, 1800.—§ The Revenue arising from this Estate, amounts to about 1600*l.* per annum.

THE activity and zeal of Mr. Maisonville, induced him to make frequent voyages to France, to obtain succours and assistance for the Settlement at Montreal. Though his difficulties were great, he yet was enabled to induce one hundred men to join his little establishment in that Island. With him came over a pious Lady, Marguerite Bourgeois, who laid the foundation of the useful institution called the "Sisters of the Congregation" at Montreal, in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-nine. Notwithstanding this augmentation of Settlers, the progress of this small establishment suffered severely from the incursions of the Five Nations.

CHAP.

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1653.

IN the preceding year, the Viscount d'Argenson assumed the reins of Government, and on his landing was surprised to hear the cry "To arms," and was informed, that a number of Algonquins had been massacred under the guns of the fort, by a scouting party of the Five Nations. Two hundred men were dispatched in pursuit of them, but they fled with such precipitation, that they could not be overtaken. Another party appeared before Three Rivers, but the good conduct and precaution of Mr. de la Potherye, the Governor, had been such, that he prevented the attack they had meditated.

1659.

THE Jesuits had long represented the necessity of having a person of rank at the head of the Catholic Church in this country, and had proposed to the Queen Mother of Austria during her Regency, the Abbé de Montigny. François de Laval, Titular Bishop of Petrea, was appointed Bishop en Partibus Infidelium, and on the twenty-seventh of June he arrived, with two Priests, at

CHAP. Quebec,* and in one thousand six hundred and seventy, the Church of Quebec was erected into a Bishop's See.†

THE Seminary of the Saint Sulpicians at Paris, acquired the rights of the first proprietors of the Island of Montreal, and in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-seven, Abbé Quelus came over to this country, with deputies from the Seminary at Paris, to take possession of their Estate, and to found the Seminary of Saint Sulpice at Montreal ‡ for the conversion of the Indians,

* The first Pontifical Mass was celebrated by the Bishop, on the 29th June, of this year.—Jesuit's Journal.

† Petit Droits des Colonies Françaises—Vol. II. p. 492.

‡ It has been doubted whether the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Montreal, are legally entitled to the immense property they hold, amounting to eight thousand pounds a year, and annually increasing. And the more so, from Sir James Marriott's report, His Majesty's Advocate General on the state of Canada, in the year 1765. "It seems to be pretty clear, that any religious communities, who as principals at the time of the conquest, were not inhabitants resident in person, do not fall under the privilege of the capitulation, nor come within what is termed by the civilians, the *Casus faderis*, so as to retain the property of their estates under it: because, they were not then the local objects, to whom, as a personal consideration for ceasing their resistance, and on account of their particular courage or distresses, the conquerors granted terms of especial favor: Neither could they retire, according to the Treaty: And if they could not retire, they could not take away their persons and estates; therefore, if it is true in fact, that any estates are now held under the grants of foreign religious communities, either in under tenancy or intrust for them or by deputation, such as the Jesuits and the Ecclesiastics of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, at Paris, that fact is very important. The community of the latter are the temporallords of the most fertile part of Canada, and a city dedicated to the Virgin Mary: They have an influence there equal to the power of the Italian Clergy, in the state of the Church or Compagna de Roma. *The Parishes in the Isle of Montreal and its dependencies*, says Charlevoix, B. VIII. p. 340, are still on the ancient footing of moveable Priests, and under the direction of the members of Saint Sulpice. They possess a fine and improving estate of eight thousand pounds sterling a year, at Montreal, and which will in a few years be worth ten thousand pounds. If all the facts are clearly established, as stated, it is a great question of law, whether these estates are not now fallen to your Majesty, of whom the under Tenants and Pos-

and for promoting the settlement of this vast domain. CHAP. 1.
 As soon as the Saint Sulpicians had taken possession of their property, they promoted the design of establishing an Hospital for the sick, and they were fortunate in get-

“ sorsors must be intended to hold them, as Trustees for such uses as your Majesty shall declare. It is in proof by several deeds of estates, (it is immaterial, whether before or after the conquest,) that the religious living in the Seminary of Montreal, are merely *Negociorum gestores*, they are so described in several instruments of conveyance, which Mr. Maseres has perused in the course of business. These conveyors are said to be—*Fondez de la Procuration de Messrs. les Ecclésiastiques du Séminaire de St. Sulpice à Paris*. It appears by Mr. Lotbinière's own words, *that before the conquest, the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris, was a voluntary partnership among a number of Clergy at Paris, who had engaged together in buying and selling, that the Joint House at Montreal had a share in the Joint House at Paris, in a sort of mercantile way, and an open account; that after the conquest they dissolved the partnership, because the House at Paris, (says Mr. Lotbinière) could not have any right after the conquest in the effects and estates in Canada. They at Paris transferred (what therefore, they could not transfer, having at that period, as he admits, no property in the estate, and only a share,) the whole in Montreal to the religious there who probably were not vraisemblablement (says Mr. Lotbinière) Attornies of those at Paris; And this was done by the latter, upon paying a compensation, being the difference of the account upon a balance. This after all is oui dire, as he says, he has heard and believes: And it stands against the evidence of Mr. Maseres, if it were contradictory: but it appears manifestly, that the religious at Montreal have only a coloured and ostensible title. There is also the evidence of a gentleman of undoubted veracity and knowledge, who having had transactions with father Montgolfier, the person acting in the Colony for the community of St. Sulpice at Paris, with a view to some purchase, the real proprietors were forced to come forward, and the uncertainty of their title broke off the negociation. The evidence of Charlevoix, also may be added: In 1657, says Charlevoix, *The Abbé Quelus returned with the Deputies of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris, to take possession of the Island of Montreal, and to found a Seminary there*. By the French law it is clear, that no persons, aliens, not being naturalized, can hold lands; so that, *by the right of conquest*, agreeably to Mr. Lotbinière's own idea *for want of owners domiciled at the time of the conquest*, these estates may be understood in point of law, to be fallen to the Crown, in Sovereignty.”—Sir James Marriot's report, Vol. I. p. 209. *The aveu et dénombrement* by the St. Sulpicians was received by General Haldimand, formerly Governor of this Province, on the 3d February 1781. “ Subject to His Majesty's pleasure, and without any prejudice whatever to the articles of the Quebec Act, concerning the religious Houses.” *Papiers Terriers*.*

CHAP. 1. ting several persons in France to aid their good intentions. Madame de Bouillon contributed sixty thousand livres, and Mr. de Dorversiére gave a large part of his property towards it. Notwithstanding the repeated applications that had been made to the Company, no succours were sent over to the country, and the Colony with difficulty was able to support itself. The animosity of the Five Nations, so far from having been diminished, daily increased, and the Indian nations attached to the French interest had been so much reduced by frequent wars, that they had neither numbers nor courage to face their bold and enterprising enemy; a large party of them, consisting of seven hundred warriors, fell on a party of French and Indians, which they easily dispersed, then advanced to Quebec, and kept that place for several months in a state of siege; while other divisions of them scoured the country, carrying devastation and horror wherever they went. In this anxiety and distress, several of the French Colonists returned to France, convinced, that from the criminal indifference of the Company, and the hostilities of the Five Nations, the Colony must be abandoned.

1662. IN order to provide a sufficient number of young men for the Priesthood, and supply the new parishes with Curés, Mr. de Petrée proposed the establishment of a Seminary for that purpose. And on his return to France, he obtained letters patent in favor of the members of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, and also an order, that the tythes of all lands should be paid to the Seminary. As the one thirteenth of the natural and artificial labour was considered as too great burthen on the people, a representation was made to the Sovereign Council by

the inhabitants, complaining of the exorbitant proportion of one thirteenth for tythes, when the Council of New France reduced them to one twenty-sixth, in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven, and this regulation was confirmed by the King of France, by a Royal Order of the twenty-seventh of May, in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine.*

CHAP.
1.

THE ill state of health of the Marquis d'Argenson, added to the chagrin he experienced at the supineness and neglect of the Colony by the Company, induced him to desire his recal the preceeding year, when the Government was committed to the care of the Baron d'Avaugour, who on his arrival, visited the several Settlements and Posts throughout the country. He was astonished at the deplorable state of the Colony, and was surprised to find, that it had been preserved, under so many discouraging circumstances. D'Avaugour, despairing of relief from the Company, which at this time, was reduced, to forty-five members, made application direct to the Crown of France, at the solicitation of the inhabitants, humbly requesting, that the King would take the Colony under his Royal Protection. Mr. Boucher, Commandant at Three Rivers, was sent to France, to lay their Memorial at the foot of the Throne;† and he was graciously received by his Sovereign. His Majesty was much surprised to find by the report the deplorable state of the country, and ordered Mr. de Monts as his Commissioner, to visit Canada, that he might have further information with respect to the condition of the

* Colony Records.

† Charlevoix—Vol. I. p. 360.

CHAP. Country. In the mean time, four hundred troops were
 1. ordered to hold themselves in readiness to reinforce the
 Garrisons and Posts most exposed.

ON the fifth of February, about half an hour after five o'clock in the evening, a great noise was heard at the same time, throughout the whole extent of Canada, which terrified the inhabitants so much, that they run out of their houses, and with encreased astonishment, when their buildings were shaken with great violence, and that the roofs, of the houses appeared as if falling to the ground. The doors opened and shut of themselves. The walls of the fortifications were rent, the bells were sounding, and the fences were thrown out of their places. The cattle made the most horrid bellowings. The surface of the earth resembled the troubled sea, and the trees were pulled up by the roots. The consternation was so general, that the animals appeared as if struck with lightning. The cries of children, and the lamentations of women, increased the general terror and consternation. The ice which covered the river Saint Lawrence and other rivers, broke into pieces, when thrown up in contact with each other, into the air. The sources of several springs and rivers became dry. The waters of others were impregnated with sulphur, and several of the rivers appeared red : others of a yellowish cast, while those of the Saint Lawrence, from Quebec to Tadousac, were white. In the mean time the atmosphere continued to exhibit the most awful appearance. At the Bay of St. Paul's, a mountain was thrown into the river Saint Lawrence and formed an Island, and at Point aux Allouettes, an entire forest, was detached from the

land, and thrown into the river : trees stood up in the water, and there took root. In the whole extent of two hundred leagues, from East to West, and one hundred from North to South, this Earthquake was felt. * It is very extraordinary, that in this general derangement of nature, no person, it would appear, should have perished, though it is said, the shocks were no less than thirty, and that they lasted without intermission, for the space of six months.

CHAP.

1.



THE Company, whose profits from the Fur Trade had been much diminished, by the frequent incursions of the Five Nations, who had interrupted their commerce, resigned their Charter into the hands of the Crown, on the twenty-fourth of February one thousand six hundred and sixty three;† As soon as the arrangements had been made and the French King's ratification obtained,‡ Mr. de Mézy was appointed Governor General in the place of Mr. d'Avaugour, for three years from the day of his arrival at Quebec. Mr. Robert, a Counsellor of state was appointed Intendant of Police, Finance and Marine. Robert, however, never came over to this Country, so that Mr. Talon, who arrived in one thousand six hundred and sixty five, was the first Intendant, and the latter was succeeded by Du Chesneau, in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy five, who brought the King's order, directing, that the Intendant should be first Presi-

1663.

* Charlevoix, Vol. I. p. 365, and Jesuit's Journal for 1663.

† Colony Records—There are no Books of Record in the Secretary's Office before this period. The old Records were either carried to France or destroyed at the fire when the Intendant's Palace was burnt down in 1725.

‡ The Edict was passed in April 1663; registered at Quebec 18th September following.—Colony Records.

CHAP. 1. dent of the Council ; The Governor to have the first, and the Bishop, the second seat. This order was highly displeasing to the Governor, who expressed his disapprobation to the Court of France. Several years afterwards, however, upon a similar representation, an order was issued by the King of France, that the Governor and Intendant should assume in the acts and orders of Council, no other distinction, but that of their several offices. The Governor was accompanied by Mr. de Petrée, the Apostolical Vicar, and by Mr. de Gaudais, who had been appointed Commissioner to take possession of Canada in the King's name : In the fleet arrived also, the four hundred regular troops, that had been promised to be sent out, and with them, were, one hundred families, with Cattle, Horses and every kind of Implements, for husbandry. Mr de Gaudais on his arrival, administered the Oath of allegiance to the Inhabitants, regulated the Police, and made other regulations for the administration of Justice. Before this period, there were no Courts of Justice, except that of the Grand Seneschal or Steward, which had been established as early as the year, one thousand six hundred and forty, and who exercised a limited Jurisdiction. In small causes, he, alone, adjudged—in causes of moment, he had a Council.

THE Governor General according to his instructions, published his Commission, and the Civil Government of the Country was established, by a Sovereign Council. The Edict recited—That New France had belonged to a Company established on the twenty-ninth of April, one thousand six hundred and twenty-seven. That they voluntarily surrendered it on the twenty-fourth of February, one thousand six hundred and sixty-three. That

in order to give it prosperity, and render the people as happy as other subjects, the establishment of Courts of Justice, were necessary. That on account of its vast distance and mutability of its affairs, it could not be governed, but by powers on the spot. That therefore, the King created a Sovereign Council, composed of De Mézy, as Governor General, representing the Crown, De Laval, Bishop of Petrée, Robert, Intendant, and of four other Counsellors to be elected by them, one to be Attorney General, and a Clerk for the conservation of the minutes of arrêts, decrees or orders of the Council.* The Clerk to hold his appointment at the pleasure of the Governor and Bishop. The powers of the Sovereign Council, were—" cognizance of all causes, civil " as well as criminal—to judge Sovereignly and in the " last resort, according to the laws and ordinances of " the *Kingdom*, and therein to proceed as near as possible in the form and manner practised and observed " in the jurisdiction of our Court of our Parliament of " Paris; reserving nevertheless, according to our Sovereignty, to change, reform and amplify the said " laws and ordinances, and them to alter, repeal or renew, or such other regulations, statutes and constitutions as we may conceive to be useful to our " service and the welfare of our subjects in that country." The Council was directed to take order on the Expenditure of Public Money, the Indian Trade,

* Augmented 5th June, 1675 to Seven Counsellors.—Declaration 5th June 1675, Colony Records. And to the number of Twelve in 1703.—Declaration 16th June 1703, Colony Records; and with this number the Council was composed until the Conquest.—There were Counsellors Assessors, who had a consultative voice in several cases, but only deliberative in those suits in which they were Reporters, and these supplied the places of the Counsellors as they became vacant.

CHAP. the Colony Commerce with France, the matters of
 1. Public Police, the appointment of Judges in the first
 instance, for all private differences, without chicane or
 dilatory proceedings. The appointment of Clerks, Notaries, Serjeants and other officers of Courts. The five Counsellors to hear and determine petty causes, and see that the judgment of the Council be executed. To take more especial cognizance in businesses touching Syndics and Trustees of Houses, their inhabitants, strangers and others, and render justice promptly. To have such salary as the state may order, and nothing else, nor to accept of any presents without the Royal leave, nor exercise any other office. The Governor General and Bishop were directed to cause the Attorney General and Secretary to promulgate and enregister this Edict, and see it executed, notwithstanding any impediments, oppositions, and appeals. If any impediments should intervene, the cognizance was to be referred to the Sovereign Council, and all other Courts prohibited from interfering. A copy of the Edict, under the signature of the Clerk of the Sovereign Council, was to have the same force and effect, as the original. All acts of the Sovereign Council were directed to be under the Seal of the King's Arms, and universal obedience commanded.

THE Council was regularly held every Monday at the Intendant's Palace, besides Special Sessions, at the pleasure of the Intendant. The Custom of Paris, and the Ordinances of the Kingdom of France were declared the law of Canada.* In the month of June, one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine, the King of

* Charlevoix—Vol. I. p. 372.

France issued an Edict, by which he approved of certain articles of the "Code Civile," rejected others, as inapplicable to the state of the Country, and substituted new regulations. In order to obviate the difficulties that might arise, as to the recusations to the Judges of the Sovereign Council, another Edict in the month of March, one thousand six hundred and eighty five, was issued by the then King Lewis XIVth, pointing out the course to be adopted as to challenges to these Judges, in civil and criminal causes, which altered the Code Civile on the "Requête Civile."† Besides the Sovereign Council, Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal were constituted, separate Jurisdictions. ‡

CHAP.
I.

THE Court of Justice Royale at Montreal, was established by the King, in one thousand six hundred and ninety-two. Until that period, the Saint Sulpicians administered Justice in their own Courts; they however, surrendered this privilege, on condition that they should retain their jurisdiction within the bounds of the Seminary, and over their Farm at Saint Gabriel, and with a perpetual right of appointing to the office of Clerk of the Court of Justice Royale. They insisted, also, on the nomination of the Judge, which was assented to by the King, with an express declaration, that the nomination of the Judge, was only understood to belong to them in the first instance.

AMIDST the happiness the Colony had experienced

† Colony Records.

‡ Each Court was composed of a Lieutenant General, Lieutenant Particulier, Attorney General and Clerk. There was a right of Appeal from these Courts to the Sovereign Council.

CHAP. 1. from the French King's paternal attention, an unfortunate disagreement took place, between the Governor, Council, Bishop and other officers of Government. He had sent to France two of the Council with whom he had disputes, without any trial, merely from motives of pique; and in many other instances behaved with the greatest hauteur and violence. His conduct at length became so ungovernable, that representations were sent to France, and notwithstanding his exertions to invalidate the charges, yet, the King thought proper to recal him from his Government, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants of the Colony.

During the time the Company's Charter had existed, Municipal Officers had been chosen by the Citizens of Quebec, for the common security of the City. When the Colony was put under a Royal Government, an Arrêt was passed by the Superior Council, which directed, that a general assembly of the inhabitants should be convened and proceed in the presence of the Council, to elect a Mayor and two Aldermen. These offices were continued for a short period, as it was thought most expedient to have a person in the character of a Syndic, who was elected by the people, and on taking the Oath, entered on the duties of his office.*

1664. CANADA had not been long re-united to the Crown, when the King by an Edict of the twenty-eighth of May, annexed it to the West-India Company† The Company was possessed by this Edict of the territory lying between the Rivers Amazon, and Oronoko, the Charib-

* Colony Records.

† Petit Vol. I. p. 24.

bee Islands, Canada, Acadia, Newfoundland and Africa : CHAP.
I.
 This territory was conceded to the Company, en Seigneurie, and was to be governed by the laws and ordinances of the Empire, and the Custom of the Vicomté and Prévoté of Paris, expressly interdicting the introduction of any other custom, to avoid contradictions and uncertainty. ‡ The Marquis de Tracy, who had been appointed Vice Roy in North and South America by Commission, § with an authority over all Governors, under the Company's Charter, was ordered first to the West Indies, and then directed to visit Canada, to adopt such measures as he thought most expedient to insure the tranquility of the Colony, and to put the country in such a posture of defence, as to render it secure from the attacks of the Five Nations, whose animosities had increased, in proportion to the support and countenance they received from the English, who at this time had conquered New York, from the Dutch.

THE Five Nations, known under the name of Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onandagas, Cayugas and Senecas, had been confederated from the most ancient times, and were always engaged in implacable warfare with the Algonquins and Hurons, the most powerful nations inhabiting Canada, when first discovered by the French. The contending parties had, in their turn, been forced to abandon their native limits. The Algonquins had been driven from their possessions near Montreal, to seek an asylum on the south-eastern coast of Lake Ontario ; the Hurons had been constrained, in their

‡ Petit Vol. I. p. 33.

§ 19 Nov. 1663. Petit Vol. I. p. 56.

CHAP. turn, to leave their lands near Three Rivers, and to
 1. look for safety, near Quebec. Champlain, in the early
 settlement of the Country, joined the Algonquins, and
 supplied them with fire arms, and by the use of this
 weapon, they on several occasions, gave a check to the
 intrepidity and stratagem of the Five Nations. The Five
 Nations, in their turn, were defeated in many battles,
 and were reduced to great distress. At this critical mo-
 ment, there arrived the first Dutch ship, in that part of
 the River of Manhattan, where Fort Orange of the
 Hollanders, the Albany of the English, was built. The
 The Indians procured from them, fire arms, which alone,
 had given them superiority over their enemies, and the
 Algonquins were not long after annihilated, as a nation.*
 It was at this time that the mutual dread and enmity,
 between the Five Nations and the French in Canada
 commenced, which was followed by continual wars,
 with but short intervals of peace.

As the Indian affairs had at this time a considerable
 influence on the future transactions of this country, it
 may be desirable that an account of the Indian nations
 should be given.

The Indians of Canada are tall and well shaped. Their
 colour is tawney or nearly olive, which may be easily
 accounted for, from their frequently greasing their bo-
 dies, their being exposed to the heat and wind, as well
 as from their suffering much by lying on the ground.
 Their hair is jet black, and none have ever been seen
 with either a redish or white colour. They most un-

* Chalmers Political Annals—Vol. I. p. 586.

questionably have * no beards, owing to their plucking it out, for which purpose they use small iron or brass wires of the length of a few inches twisted round a stick of a small diameter, forming the figure of a screw, and applying the circles to the skin, so to compress as to pinch the hair to be extracted. Many of the males keep the greater part of their heads bald by this practice, while the women universally have thick long black hair, which they soften with Bear's fat. Nor have they, for the same reason any hair on the other parts, of their body. Their eyes are black and in general of a large size. None have either blue or grey. Their lips are large though not so thick as the Negroes. They have great strength and vigour of body. As they employ themselves in hunting, they frequently go to war at a great distance. The Indian women bear great affection for their children, nursing them themselves, nor will they permit them to receive suck from others. They lay their children not in a Cradle, but on a smooth board, well wrapped up with their limbs stretched out, which in some measure accounts for there being few or no instances of decrepid or deformed children. The men are generally cloathed with a blanket girt at the waist and thrown over the shoulder; the women have large cloth stockings, which come up as far as the thigh, and their feet are covered with socks of Deer skin, which they call *Makasins*. Their heads are always uncovered, trussing up their hair, on which they generally fix a feather. The women wear a bodkin made of wood. They are very fond of

CHAP.
1.

* The Indians think it a great beauty to have no hair, but on their heads, and should any grow on their chins, they extract it. Charlevoix, Vol. III. p. 311.

CHAP. ornaments, wearing rings not only at their ears, but
 1. suspended at their noses. Their arms are generally encircled with bracelets of Silver and Brass. They used formerly bows and arrows, but since they have been acquainted with the Europeans, their warlike instruments are a musket, hatchet and knife. As they are frequently constrained to change place for the better convenience of fishing and hunting, they make canoes of the bark of trees, and to prevent their leaking, they cover the seams, where the bark is joined together, with gum or turpentine, extracted from pine Trees, to keep them tight. In these boats they make their excursions, and which easily carry their wives, children, dogs, skins and other covering necessary for their journeys.

THE Indian women perform all the drudgery. They collect fuel, cook, plant and hoe their Indian Corn, and carry their Infants on their backs. Every man has his own wife, whom he takes and forsakes at pleasure. The husband is a warrior and a hunter, who drinks, sings, and is waited on by his wife and children. The Indian women are certainly as lascivious as the Europeans of the lower class, and it has been asserted by several Traders, who have the best opportunities of knowing the truth, that they seldom find the Indian women shy of their embraces. But that they very frequently destroy the Fœtus, to avoid reproach.

THEIR houses are nothing more than a few crotched stakes, covered over with bark, with a fire place in the centre, and an aperture at the top for the conveyance of the smoke. Whenever there are a number of these collected, they generally enclose the village with a pa-

lisade and rampart, and as they have no other fortifications, it affords an asylum merely for the old men, women, and children, while the rest are gone out to war. CHAP. 1.

MAIZE or Indian Corn and Beans of Brazil, is the grain they consume. Fish, Venison, Bear's Flesh, Raccoons, Rabbits and wild Fowl, are the other chief articles of their food. They have scarce any pot herbs or other vegetables. Indian Corn, Meat and Fish, boiled together is the common cookery. Small Fish they broil on the coals, and the larger sort they bury in the Sand and roast under a fire with the scales on, and entrails; and then strip off the skin, when it is sufficiently dressed. We have never discovered any vessels that could have been used by the Indians before the European discovery, for culinary purposes. They must have boiled their broth as they some times do now, in wooden or bark bowls, heated with a repeated immersion of red hot stones.

LITTLE can be said for the Indians, with regard to their cleanliness, indeed they are so extremely dirty, that the greatest disgust is naturally excited. And as they have no linnen to cover their tables, they frequently wipe their greasy hands upon their own hair, or on that of their dogs.

WITH respect to their language, it is very certain that the dialect of every nation differs, yet it is confidently asserted they have some resemblance to each other, and that the language of the northern Indians is understood by the Mohawks.

CHAP. IT is most unfortunate, that they never adopted the
 1. European manner for the cure of their diseases. A sick
 Indian is first sweated in a hole dug for the purpose, covered and heated with hot stones, and in that condition, plunges into a river. This practice must generally be fatal to many. They have however discovered the medicinal virtues of some plants, and it is said, there are a few that attend to the cure of diseases.

No people on earth have higher ideas of military glory than the Indians, and as they frequently associate together to call to remembrance their wars and treaties, and to recite the military achievements of their forefathers, a spirit of emulation is naturally excited in the breasts of their young men, who by this means are emulous of their fathers' virtues, and therefore easily led on to the most heroic actions.

THE government of these people is necessarily of the simplest kind. As they live by hunting, and not by agriculture, their riches consist less in abundance than in a freedom from want, and therefore they have nothing more than a regular police for the better preservation of harmony and good understanding. Their Chiefs decide all questions of peace and war, and have great authority among them. A Sachem, or Chief, is one who stands in high reputation for his wisdom, oratory and military exploits. He feels the weight given to his merit, and his advice has the effect of command. What all the Sachems prescribe, none durst disobey. But as their authority depends upon their fame, they clearly become the servants of all. The nation therefore, depends on them in what

concerns the whole body, as in making peace or war. CHAP. Differences are decided by them in time of peace, and 1. every man at variance with his neighbour, will court their approbation. These situations are, however, not hereditary, among the northern Indians, though the son readily acquires a tacit respect for the services done the Republic by his father.

HUNTING on their grounds without leave, robbery, and personal violence, are the motives to an Indian war. Before they set out on their expeditions, a feast on dog's flesh, is generally prepared, which is invariably followed by the war dance. Then the Chiefs recite the glorious achievements of the forefathers of the young warriors, to excite their valour, after which they paint themselves with vermillion in the most frightful manner. The route they are to pursue is usually traced on a piece of the bark of a tree. The conduct of their wars is certainly not calculated to admit of their taking many prisoners, for instead of marching in strong parties, they often go out singly and surprise the foe, whom they kill and scalp. If the prisoners are unable to march, or dangerous by their numbers, they are destroyed. Such as are brought into a state of safety, they generally adopt and foster as their own children. They are almost universally brave, and meet death with heroic firmness. Intolerable contempt is the sure consequence of pusillanimity.

WHENEVER peace is desired by one of the parties at war, a Messenger is sent with a red pipe of marble, to which is affixed a gay plumage of the feathers of Birds, who presents it to the nation at war, and if the

CHAP. enemy smoke it, an Armistice immediately succeeds,
 1. which is surely followed by a general peace.

WITH regard to Religion, it may be said with truth, that all the Indian nations are envelopped in the darkest gloom of ignorance. There have been some persons that have asserted that they had a Religion, but they have not informed us, wherein it consists. They have no Temples, no Altars nor Priests. Neither have they the smallest conception of the Diety, nor the least knowledge of his natural or moral perfections. And as they profess no obligations to him, they of course acknowledge no dependance on him. They have however, it is said, some wild notions of two Spirits, one capable of doing them good and the other ready to do them harm, the latter they pay most homage to. But on the whole we may conclude that they have not the smallest notions of a God, and melancholy indeed is the reflection, that millions of these unfortunate people on this extended continent, will be compelled by the immutable laws of nature to leave this transitory world, without experiencing those salutary and comfortable doctrines that flow from a knowledge of the religion of the Blessed Redeemer!!!

IT will seem probable to Europeans at a distance, that as the whites encreased in Canada, that the natives retired to the inland regions. But this is far from being the case. The nations who first occupied the country, are almost totally extinct. They stuck by their ancient territory until they were overcome by the European vices, diseases, and by the sword. This attachment to their native districts, proves that they have an

idea of property. Hunters require great space for subsistence. As every Indian nation has its own limits, an encroachment creates a war, and therefore the Indians of Canada, (like the rest of the Atlantic Indians, where the same causes have produced similar effects,) saw no alternative but to fight the Europeans or submit and sell their lands. The same observation will hold true as the settlement and population of the Country increases, and and as they are much addicted to drunkenness, there can be but little doubt that rum and other strong liquors will ultimately annihilate the remnants of a people once so numerous and powerful.

CHAP.
1.

ON the arrival of the first Europeans * in this Country, a striking instance of the primitive manners of the natives, may be seen; regardless of danger, and totally uninfluenced by fear, the natives eagerly embraced the European with an unaffected joy. Their Huts were open to receive the stranger, their fires and furs to give him warmth, their food was shared with him or given in exchange for the baubles that were offered, their simple medicines to heal his wounds, and no difficulty or danger prevented them guiding him in his way. But unhappily for this misinformed people, they set too great a value on their guest. They had at first conceived him to be of an heavenly origin, from a superiority evident to their senses, and doubtless expected more than belongs to beings of the same species with themselves.

* The first *white* Child in Canada, was born on the 24th day of October 1621, and was christened the same day, by the name of Eusache, being the Son of Abraham Martin and Margaret L'Anglois.—Parish Register of Quebec.

CHAP. When the mistake was discovered, and they found that
 1. the stranger was possessed of the same human passions and desires, with themselves, that their former confidence had been misplaced, and friendship but ill requited, the rage of jealousy succeeded to their wonted benevolence, and they struggled to rid themselves of him, whom they now no longer considered as a friend, but as an inveterate enemy. Their hatred, so far from being weakened by that justice and moderation that should have characterized the European in his commerce with these people, was daily confirmed by the contempt shown to this man of nature, whom he considered as an inferior being, and availing himself of his strength and experience, abused his confidence, repaid his kindness with insult and injury, stigmatized him as a Heathen and Savage, and bestowed on him the grossest epithets, though he himself had first set him, the example of the detestable vices, of deceit, treachery and cruelty.

THE conduct of M. de Mezy had induced the
 1665. King to order his recal, † and in his place was appointed Daniel de Remi, Seigneur or lord of Courcelles, ‡ and M. de Talon was made Intendant; he had held that office in Hainault and had given much satisfaction, by his judgments and decisions. Among the powers he was invested with, as Intendant, he was ordered by his commission, to do justice on the complaints of the military and others; to give judgment and execution in crimi-

† De Mezy died before he knew of his recal.—5th May, 1665. Jesuit Journal.

‡ Commission dated 23d March, 1665.—Registered at Quebec, 23d Sept. following.

nal cases, with Judges and Graduates of the number required by the ordinances. To decide alone in civil cases, summarily, and to preside in the Sovereign Council, in the absence of the Governor and Lieutenant General. A considerable number of colonists,* mechanics and labourers from the Provinces of Normandy and Picardy, accompanied the Governor, with a large supply of cattle, consisting of oxen, sheep and horses. On board of the same fleet came over, the remainder of the Carignan Salieres regiment, which had first gone to the West Indies with the Marquis de Tracy, and arrived at Quebec, in the month of June of the same year. The Marquis, as soon as circumstances would permit, put himself at the head of his troops, and ascended the Saint Lawrence, as far as Sorel, or the Richlieu River, with the view of constructing three forts, which he considered as essentially necessary, to repress the attacks of the Five Nations, and to secure the tranquility of the country. One of these forts was constructed by M. de Sorel, a captain in the Carignan regiment, to which he gave his own name, and to the River, at the mouth of which it was situated. The second fort was built by M. de Chambly, and called after him, and the third fort was undertaken by M. de Sallieres, which he named Sainte Thérèse, where the Colonel established his Head Quarters.

CHAP.
1.
1666.

M. Talon, † who was a man of superior talents and

* 130 Men, 82 Women and Children.

† The first Lectures in Philosophy were delivered at the Jesuit's College on the 2d of July of this year, by M. Talon, the Intendant.—Jesuit's Journal.

CHAP. enterprise, had been long busily employed in procuring information with regard to the nature, the resources and importance of the country : he drew up a long and valuable report to M. Colbert, the Minister of France, and remonstrated against the Government of the Colony by a Company, as pregnant with the most mischievous consequences. However just his remarks were, scarce any attention was paid to his suggestions.

THE bold and menacing conduct of the Oneydoes and Mohawks, who had lately made an attack on the Colony, and had murdered three officers of the Carignan regiment, and several of its peaceable inhabitants, made it necessary to punish them for their temerity. The Marquis, therefore, to convince these people that it was in his power to punish such outrages, assembled an army, composed of fourteen hundred men of the Carignan regiment, Canadians and Indians, and to this body was attached two field pieces, which was his only artillery. M. de Courcelles, the Governor, commanded the van, the Marquis the centre, and M. de Sorel, the rear. The army proceeded on its march, on the fourteenth of eptember, and from some unaccountable neglect, it was so badly supplied with provisions, that it was reduced to the greatest distress before their arrival in the Mohawk Country. The army at length, grew extremely mutinous, and was on the eve of disbanding itself, when, fortunately, they discovered a large wood of chesnut trees, the nuts of which they gathered to satisfy their appetites. The object the marquis had in view was to have surprised the Castles of the Five Nations, at one and the same moment, but by the imprudent conduct of his Indian allies, who could

be kept under no discipline, the enemy was apprised of CHAP.
 his approach, and they saved themselves by flight. 1.
 A few old men and women fell an easy prey to the cap-
 tors, who secured the provisions and Indian corn, and
 then burnt the village to the ground. As the season of
 the year was too far advanced to proceed to the attack
 of the Oneydoe village, the army returned to Quebec,
 and was put into winter quarters.* The settlements
 made by the inhabitants, placed at a considerable dis-
 tance from each other, had been much censured, as
 in case of attack, the inhabitants were unable to afford
 assistance to each other. To prevent a repetition of
 that mode of settlement, M. Colbert, the French mi-
 nister, directed the Intendant, to put into execution the
 King's edict, which had been issued two years before,
 which directed, that no more lands should be cleared
 but in spots contiguous to each other, and by this means,
 the houses would be placed so near to each other, as to
 form villages. This edict, however, was but little at-
 tended to, and they followed in their future settlements,
 their own interests and inclinations.

THE last act of the Marquis's administration, before 1667.
 his return, this year, was a confirmation given to the
 West India Company, by which they were invested with
 the same rights, privileges, and authority, that had been
 granted to the former Company. M. Talon, whose
 active mind was always intent on promoting the pros-
 perity of the Colony, sought out every source, to en-
 crease the industry of the inhabitants, and to promote

* On his return to Quebec, the Marquis de Tracy, directed that the Victory should be celebrated, by singing the, Te Deum, in the Church at Quebec.—
 Jesuit's Journal.

CHAP. the commerce of the country. There had been various reports in circulation, that there were several mines in different parts of the Country. It had been asserted that one of Silver had been discovered, but they were soon undeceived. Mr. de la Tesserie, was sent to St. Paul's Bay, and there discovered a Mine of Iron. On his return to France the next year, he represented to Mr. Colbert, that the discovery of Iron and other Ores, would be an object of vast national importance and well worth the sending over to this Country, a person well versed in the science of mineralogy. Mr. de la Potardiere was chosen for this purpose, and on his arrival was presented with two specimens of Iron, that had been discovered, near the Parishes of Champlain and Cape de la Magdeleine * He visited these places, and gave it as his opinion, that the quality of the Iron was excellent, and that it was in the greatest abundance. Mr. Talon, was no less attentive in recommending the cultivation of Hemp, which, from the nature of the soil and climate promised every possible success. A small quantity had been sown, and had succeeded so well, as to induce a hope when more generally cultivated, that the Colony, would be able to furnish France, with a large supply. On Mr. Talon's return to France, his office of Intendant, was filled, ad interim, by M. Bouteroue.

THE Five Nations tired with their late wars sued for
1668. peace, which the French and the Indian nations attached

* Mr. Dantic, after a number of experiments, to class the different kinds of Iron, discovered, that the Iron of Styria was the best, and that the Iron of North America, of Denamara in Sweden, of Spain, Bayonne, Roussillon, Foix, Berri, Thierache, in Sweden, the Communs of France, and Siberia, was the next class. Abbé Raynal, Vol. 8. p. 268.

to them, readily accepted. The Inhabitants now secure from the hostile attacks of their enemies, began to extend their settlements and cultivated their new lands. Such of the Soldiers of the Carignan Regiment, who expressed a desire of remaining in Canada, obtained their discharge, and a certain quantity of lands was granted to them. To their Officers were granted, Seigniories, according to their rank, and as this year was distinguished from the circumstance that a Free Trade had been granted, the prosperity of the Colony increased with the activity and exertions of its Inhabitants. As the disproportion between the number of the men and women was very great, the Government of France sent out several hundred women to the Country. The characters of these females, are stated † as by no means of the fairest, though by their subsequent conduct, they lived without reproach. On their arrival in Canada, an advertisement was published to let the people of the country know, that a large number of women had arrived, and that such as had the means of supporting a wife, should have their choice. The collection consisted of, tall, short, fair, brown, fat and lean. The notification had been made but a few days, when so great was the demand, that in less than fifteen days, the whole of the females were disposed of. As soon as the marriage ceremony had taken place, the Governor General distributed, oxen, cows, hogs, fowls, salted beef, and some money, to the married people.

THE few Recollects that were in the Country on its 1670.

† Baron le Hontan, Vol. 1. p. 11.

CHAP. reduction, by the Kirks, went to France, and various
 1. opinions had been entertained, whether such a class of
 men dependant, for their support, on public and private charity, were fit persons to be sent to a Country, at that time both poor and thinly settled. Mr. Talon, the Intendant, notwithstanding the arguments that had been urged against them, was of opinion, that they were particularly useful, as Priests, and as Missionaries, for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indian Tribes. The Court of France readily assented to what appeared of public utility, and in consequence of it, a Royal Edict was passed for their establishment. Two Recollects and two hundred Settlers prepared to embark for this Country, and, after having been no less than three months at sea, put back to Rochelle, near which, the whole number with the exception of a few, perished. This disaster, great as it was, did not intimidate Father Germain Allard, Provincial of the Recollects, and three other Priests of that order, from undertaking the voyage to this Country on the following year. They, with Mr. Talon, and several other adventurers returned to Canada, and were put into possession of their Convent and Farm, of “Notre Dame des Anges.”

IN erecting the Church of Quebec into a Bishop's See, there had been great contestations, between the Court of Rome and that of Versailles, but it was at length settled that the Bishop of Quebec should hold of, and be dependent of the See of Rome. Notwithstanding that the Bishoprick of Quebec was dependent of Rome, yet the See was united to France, in the same manner as that of Puy, which was also dependent of

the Holy See The King of France, in order to en- CHAP.
1.
dow the Bishoprick and Chapter of Quebec, united the
two Abbacies of Maubéc, and M. Saint Vallier, the
successor of Delaval, obtained the annexation of the
Abbacy of Benevent, part to the Bishoprick and part to
the Chapter of Quebec. The want of means to pay
for his Bulls, obliged the new Bishop of Quebec to go
to France to solicit the King's assistance, so that he did
not procure them before the year one thousand six
hundred and seventy-four, when he was installed by
the King's Letters Patent, Catholic Bishop of Quebec.

THE Jesuits and Recollects who had been the first
priests in Canada, were succeeded by several other Ec-
clesiastics, who arrived in this country. The new Curés
served the parishes by commission. They were like-
wise, for a considerable time moveable at the will of the
Bishop, and sometimes of the Superiors of the Semi-
nary at Quebec who themselves were named by the Di-
rectors of Foreign Missions at Paris. The King of France
by an Edict of the month of May, one thousand six hund-
red and seventy-nine,* ordered, however, that the Curés
should be fixed, as they were in France; but they are
still moveable, and the whole Colony in its present state,
is absolutely a Mission, the Bishop having his Vicars, and
himself the universal Rector. The Curés of the Island
of Montreal, remained under the direction of the Semi-
nary of Saint Sulpicians, and were also moveable, not-
withstanding the King's order that they should be fixed.
The Bishop's successors finding it difficult to recover the
revenues annexed to the Bishoprick, in the year one

* Colony Records.

CHAP. thousand seven hundred and thirty, resigned them
 1. with the consent of Lewis XIV. to the Clergy of France, to be united to a particular fund, called, the **Œconomats**, applied for the augmentation of small livings; in consideration of which cession, by the Bishops of Canada, they received eight thousand seven hundred livres, annually, from that fund.

THE peace that had subsisted between the French and the Five Nations was at length interrupted by an aggression of the Senecas, who had declared war against the Pouteouatamies. De Courcelles, the Governor, as soon as he was apprised of the attack, sent a message to the Senecas, by which he ordered them to lay down their arms, and restore the prisoners they had made, and signified to them, that in case of their refusal, he would burn their villages to the ground. To this summons they answered, by putting this question to Courcelles: Whether all the people on this Continent were to be considered as French subjects, from the moment they admitted French Missionaries among them? And whether they had not a right to demand satisfaction for aggressions made upon them. They also begged leave to assure him, that though they had made peace with the French, they never would become their slaves. Courcelles, piqued at this message, prepared for war. The Senecas, however, apprehensive of a rupture with the French, restored the prisoners, and peace between the two Indian nations was restored.

THE King of France anxious by every means to promote the settlement of Canada, sent out new settlers, and to induce the young people to marry, offered a cer-

tain bounty on marriages in the colony. On the marriages of males, of the age of twenty and under, and females of the age of sixteen and under, a present from the King of twenty-five livres was ordered to be paid. A pension of three hundred livres was directed to be annually paid to parents having ten children, born in Wedlock, and four hundred livres, to such as had twelve. His Majesty also directed by the same edict, that the Superior Council, should establish a pecuniary penalty on such parents as did not marry their children before the periods abovementioned.*

CHAP.

1.

ACADIA was restored to France, by the Treaty of St. Germain's, and along with it, Fort Royal, Canada and Cape Breton. The Company of New France, repossessing that Country, granted the territory on the banks of the River Saint John to Saint Etienne and to de la Tour, then Governors of that little colony. When the new Englanders beheld the progress of these settlements, it excited emotions of the deepest regret Sedgewicke who commanded Cromwell's forces in New England, proposed marching against the French, and acquired Port Royal by Capitulation in August. one thousand six hundred and fifty four, and as he granted them liberal terms, Acadia submitted to his power : During the Treaty of Westphalia, in November, one thousand six hundred and fifty five, the French Minister demanded restitution of Fort Pentagoët, Saint John, and Port Royal, which they insisted were wrongfully retained. Cromwell, not disposed to return what he had conquered, granted to Saint Etienne, the Huguenot, to Crown and Temple, for ever, the territory, called, Acadia, and

* Colony Records.

CHAP. ^{1.} part of the Country commonly called, Nova Scotia, extending as far as the River St. George, which was erected into a Province distinct from New England, of which they were appointed hereditary Governors. This produced the confusion that perplexed statesmen in after times, by considering the two countries distinct, when they were one and the same. The French insisted on the restitution of Acadia, both at the Treaties of Westminster and Breda, but to no purpose. In consideration, however, of the cession of part of Saint Christopher's and other Islands in the West Indies, King Charles of England restored to France, Acadia, without specification of limits and particularly Pentagoët. Saint John, Port Royal, la Have and Cape Sable lying within it. Temple, the proprietary, however hesitated to deliver up the Fortifications though in pursuance of orders. The people of Massachusetts sent agents to remonstrate against the Cession, as they considered it their greatest misfortune, involving their Commerce, Fishery and security of their Borders. A definitive order, however, was transmitted in August, one thousand six hundred and sixty nine, to deliver up Acadia, which was obeyed the next year. Mr. de la Tour, who had sold to Sir Thomas Temple, regained on the surrender of Acadia, the property that had been before conveyed, and built a Fort at Saint John's River, which Mr. Donnée the French Governor of Acadia. conceived both irregular and inconsistent with the Royal Prerogative : while la Tour was in France, he reduced it, and inhumanly butchered his Wife and Family. The deep concern, that the New Englanders felt at the Progress and near settlement of the French, pointed out the necessity of dislodging such troublesome neighbours. Colonel Phipps in

the year, one thousand, six hundred and ninety, with seven hundred men, took the Fort of Port Royal, and reduced it. Mr. Meneval and the French Inhabitants took the Oaths of Allegiance to the Crown of England, but soon after revolted, continued their settlements, and by the Treaty of Ryswick, Great Britain quit claimed it to France. In the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, an expedition was undertaken by Colonel Nicholson from New England, against Port Royal, and after bombarding the place a few days, the French Governor Subercasse capitulated, and the Fort was delivered up, when the whole Country was reduced and confirmed to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, in one thousand seven hundred and thirteen.*

CHAP.
1.

THE Indian nations, of the north-west, who had felt the beneficial effects of the protection of the French against the hostile attacks and resentment of the Five Nations, expressed their desire, to form a strict alliance with them. A circumstance so favorable to the interests of the Crown, could not escape the vigilant attention of Mr. Talon. Mr. Nicholas Perrot, a voyageur, well known by these Indians, was employed on this mission, he collected deputies from the various tribes of the north-west, at the Falls of Saint Mary, where Mr. Lussou, the French Agent, who had a special commission for extending the rights of the Crown, met them at their Grand Council. The ceremony was opened, by a speech, from Father Allouez, when he represented the mighty power of the King of France, and assured them, that nothing was wanting to insure his protection but their acknowledgment of him as their Father and

* Douglas' Summary, Vol. I. p. 317.

CHAP. Chief. Mr. Lusson, then addressed himself to the
 1. several deputies, and desired to know, whether they all
 consented to the convention. As a token of their assent,
 they presented him with Belts of Wampum, shouting,
 "Long live the King." A Cross, inscribed with the
 arms of the King of France, was then set up with a de-
 claration from Mr Lusson, that the Country and its
 inhabitants were henceforth, under his Majesty's pro-
 tection.

Mr. de Courcelles, whose industry was equal to his
 art, with a view of bridling the Five Nations, sent a
 message to their chiefs that he had some business of im-
 portance to communicate, and desired their attendance
 at Cataraqui, where he would meet them. As soon as
 these deputies arrived, a Council was held, when Mr.
 de Courcelles represented to them, that he meant to
 build a Fort at that place, only with a view of facilitating
 the trade between them, and to serve as a depôt for
 merchandize. The Chiefs not aware of this insidious
 proposition, readily acquiesced in the measure, which,
 so far from having a view to their advantage, was in-
 tended to form a barrier against them in future wars.
 While measures were taken for the construction of the
 fort.* Mr. de Courcelles, who had requested his re-
 cal, found himself relieved this year by Louis de Buade,
 1672. Count de Frontenac, † Lieutenant General in the King's
 service, and who had distinguished himself as an officer,
 during the wars of the league, and was much esteem-
 ed by Henry IV. In justice to the character of Mr.

* It was finished the next year, by Count de Frontenac, and called after his
 own name.

† His Commission, registered 12th September following. Colony Records.

de Courcelles, it is necessary to mention, that his conduct during his administration, was wise and lenient. He preserved the Colony in peace and tranquility, and exerted himself to promote its happiness and prosperity. His departure was the source of much anxiety to the Colonists, and happy would it have been for the Country, had his successors pursued the same mild and lenient measures of government.

CHAP.
1.

Mr. Talon, early apprised of the violent temper, and character of the Count de Frontenac, took the resolution of applying to the King, for leave to resign his situation as Intendant of Canada. His Majesty, well acquainted with his talents and virtues, and knowing the loss the Colony would suffer, by his return, eagerly pressed his deferring his intention, a few years longer, that the affairs of the Colony, might be placed on a permanent footing. Talon, did not decline a request so highly honorable : he therefore determined to avail himself of the time he had to remain, and employed it in promoting the prosperity of the Country. Mr. Talon, who had, by the late convention at the Falls of Saint Mary, extended the rights of the Crown, was desirous of making further discoveries to the West. Various accounts had been given by the Indians, of a Noble River called, the Mississippi, whose course was neither to the Eastward or Northward, from whence it was supposed, that it had its discharge, either in the Gulph of Mexico, or in the Pacific Ocean : To ascertain such an important fact, the enquiry was entrusted to Father Marquette, a Jesuit, and Joliet, a Geographer and citizen of Quebec. These two men, equally active, and equally disinterested, left Lake Michigan, entered Fox River,

1673.

CHAP. and having traversed an immense extent of Country,
 1. they at length struck the Mississippi at the latitude of
 forty-two and a half, North. They descended the river
 as low as Acansas, and convinced that the Mississippi, had
 its discharge in the Gulph of Mexico, they returned to
 give Mr. Talon a narrative of the information they had
 acquired.

THERE was at this time, in Canada, Mr. de la Salle, a Norman by birth, of a bold and enterprising character, emulous of acquiring a distinguished reputation, and anxious of making a considerable fortune; the field that this important discovery opened to his mind, gratified both his natural disposition and his unbounded ambition. Frontenac, eager to assist him, advised him to go to France, and lay his plan before the Court; on his arrival there, he was not only well received, but loaded with presents; and in furtherance of his views, he received orders to prosecute what had been so happily begun. To carry into effect his project, and to secure the affections of the Indians, it was necessary to establish Forts and Posts in the country of those nations, through whose territories he was compelled to pass. These measures of indispensable necessity, were retarded by unexpected accidents, by frequent dissensions and revolts among his own men, and by the ill conduct of the Indians. La Salle, embarrassed with these difficulties, though he left Quebec in eptember, one thousand six hundred and seventy-eight, only reached the Mississippi on the second of February, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two. In the month of April he descended the river a considerable distance, and no longer in doubt of its discharge in the Gulph

Mexico, returned the ensuing spring to Quebec. Eager to promote a discovery of the Mississippi by sea, and to form a powerful Colony on its banks, he went to France, where his project was well relished by the Court. Four vessels were ordered to be equipped for the voyage, with which he sailed for the Gulph of Mexico; unfortunately, however, this little fleet, mistaking the situation of the river, went too far to the Westward and anchored in February, one thousand six hundred and eighty-five at the Bay of Saint Bernard, one hundred leagues from it. The irreconcilable hatred that existed between M. de Beaujeu, who commanded the vessels, and M. la Salle, decided the latter to desire the disembarkation of the men with their provisions and other necessaries at the place where chance had thrown them. As soon as one hundred of the men were landed from the vessels, a spirit of mutiny broke out, on account of the small quantity of provisions that were brought on shore, the greater part of which had been lost in the sea, by the negligence of the sailors on their landing. The unconquerable spirit of La Salle, notwithstanding these disorders arose with the difficulties that assailed him, persuaded, that the rivers that had their discharge in the Bay Saint Bernard, were branches of the Mississippi, he was busily employed several months in hopes of clearing up these doubts. Losing, however, his hopes, he at length gave up his first object, and instead of procuring Indian guides to conduct him to his destination, he wandered into the interior parts of the country, after the fabulous mines of Saint Barbe, where he was massacred in one thousand six hundred and eighty-seven by his own people. La Salle's death broke

CHAP.

1.

CHAP. up the small Colony, many of whom died by hunger
 1. and the fatigues they had experienced; those that were
 not murdered by the Indians, were confined by the Spaniards in the mines, and only seven of them escaped to Canada, to relate their dreadful misfortunes. *

THE West India Company, sensible of their inability to manage the complicated objects their Charter embraced, resigned it into the hands of the Crown in December, one thousand six hundred and seventy-four.

* Raynal, Vol. viii. p. 462.

THE
HISTORY
OF
CANADA.

CHAPTER II.

From the Surrender of the West India Company's Charter in 1674, to the Siege of Quebec, in 1690.

AS the West India Company's Charter was revoked, 1675
it became necessary for the King to confirm the Edict
of one thousand six hundred and sixty-three by a Royal
Order of the fifth of June, one thousand six hundred
and seventy-five. The Edict recited, that Canada
had been joined to the West Indies, that the Crown was
re seized, in the year, one thousand six hundred and
seventy-four, by revocation, that as an Intendant had
been sent to Canada, and it was necessary for the Crown
to declare itself, it states, that the Sovereign Council

CHAP. should be composed of the Governor and Lieutenant
 II. General and Bishop, and when absent, of the Grand
 Vicar, the Intendant Du Chesneau and seven Council-
 lors, that the Intendant be third in rank. That he de-
 mand the opinions, take the voices and pronounce the
 decrees. That he perform the duties and enjoy the
 advantages of the Chief Intendant of the King's
 Courts. *

ON the departure of Mr. Talon for France, his ap-
 pointment of Intendant was conferred on Mr. Du Ches-
 neau by Commission.† The powers granted to him
 were similar to those of Mr. Talon, with additions.
 He was directed to superintend and support inferior
 Judges and Officers, to see that the Sovereign Council
 conformed in all cases civil and criminal to the ordinan-
 ces of the Kingdom and the custom of the Prevoté and
 Vicomté of Paris. With the Council to make Police
 Laws to be executed by inferior Judges, to act alone
 without the Council where they created delays, and to
 order at his discretion.

THE apprehensions of the Colony, respecting the
 character and violence of temper of the Count de Fron-
 tenac were now unfortunately confirmed. His ungo-
 vernable disposition led him into the most harsh and
 unwarrantable measures, which did not fail to create
 the disgust and detestation of the people. He ruled
 the Colony with a rod of iron, observing no law but
 his own will. Mr. de Felelon, of the Saint Sulpicians

* Edict of Confirmation of 1675, of the Establishment of Sovereign Council
 in Canada of 1663.

† The Intendant's Commission, 5th June, 1675.—Colony Records.

of Montreal was thrown into prison, under the pretence that he had preached a sermon against him. He appointed no person to the Sovereign Council, but those devoted to his will, by which means, he made himself the Sovereign Arbiter of Justice. In the course of six months of his administration, law suits increased more than they had done the preceding sixty years, and the utmost apprehensions were entertained, unless some remedy was applied to insure the tranquility and happiness of the Colony.

CHAP.
II.

THE Governor's conduct became more and more disgusting, and deservedly excited the execration of the people. He not only displaced two Councillors and the Attorney General, for not conforming to his will, but declared to the Intendant, with whom he had also a dispute on the score of rank and authority in the Council, that he was extremely sorry that he had not sent him to goal, immediately after the departure of the vessels, that he might have remained confined until the King's pleasure should be known. This shameful demeanor became the source of a complaint to the Crown; but so great was the Count's interest, and so powerful were his friends, that the representations that had been made against him, were either softened down by their influence, or declared totally inconsistent with truth. The King, anxiously desirous of settling these disputes, which tended so much to the distraction and disturbance of the Colony, ordered several letters to be written by the Minister, to desire that, as the public service could not go on as long as the differences existed between him and the Intendant, he hoped, that for their own honor and for the good of the service, these ani-

CHAP. II. mosities would subside, and that both would exert their talents for the public good. Unfortunately, however, both the Governor and Intendant possessed a haughtiness and pride that would not allow mutual concessions, and as the King was apprised that the Colony could not expect either tranquility or happiness, as long as they remained in the Country, his Majesty was induced to order the recal of them both, as a mark of his high displeasure.

NOTWITHSTANDING the repeated orders that had been given, to restrict the sale of Brandy to the Indians, which was considered as the principal cause of the diminution of those tribes, yet the interest of the merchants still prevailed, and the sale of Brandy was not diminished. The Bishop and Clergy, aware of the dreadful effects that this trade had occasioned, conceived it their duty, to represent the baneful effects to the King, who was pleased, upon their representation, to order, in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-six, a total prohibition of this trade under the heaviest penalties. Notwithstanding this order however, the sale of Brandy was by no means decreased, and produced the mischievous effects foreseen, in the diminution of the natives of this country.*

1679. RESPECTING the patronage of the Church, an Edict had been passed by the King this year, which ordered, that at the request of divers Lords of Manors and inhabitants of New France, the Curés having Benefices with the cure of souls should be fixed, instead

* By a Census taken this year, the number of Inhabitants in Canada, amounted to 8415 souls in the Colony. Charlevoix, Vol. I. p. 467

of the Priests and Curés who were removeable at the pleasure of the Bishop. That the parochial tythes should belong to them, according to the regulations of the fourth of September, one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven, and that every Parish Priest shall have in his option, either to take them in kind, or to let them to any private persons, inhabitants of the Parish. That the Lords of the Fief, in which the Church is situated, gentlemen, officers (civil and military) and the whole body of the inhabitants together, shall not be the takers directly or indirectly. That the Lord of the Fief shall be preferred to every person for the patronage of livings, provided he gives an equivalent to the Church by emolument and payment of the charge of building; in which case, the advowson or right of patronage and presentation, shall remain appendant to the principal manor of his Fief, and shall follow the person in possession thereof, although he shall not be of the heirs of the founder. That the Parsonage House and Church Yard, shall be provided and built at the expence of the Lord and the inhabitants. By an arrêt of the Council of State of France, of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-nine, the Bishop of Quebec was authorized to build Churches of Stone in Parishes and in Fiefs, and to have the patronage, unless the Seigneurs had prepared materials for building Churches: but as there were but few instances in which the Seigneurs had complied with the law, the greater part of the benefices, fell within the patronage of the Bishop of Quebec. * The King, however, retained the nomi-

CHAP.
II.

* The Marquis de Vaudreuil demanded at the Capitulation of Montreal, in 1760, That the Catholic Bishop should have the power to establish *new Parishes*, but this article was refused by General Amherst.—Capitulation of Montreal.

CHAP. nation and appointment of the Bishop, and he, the
 II. Dean, the Archdeacon, Theological and twelve Canons
 belonging to the Cathedral. The outward government of the Church is by the law of France, vested in the Sovereign, he being, as the French Lawyers say, the true Bishop *out of the Church*, as the Bishops, are Princes, as to what relates to the interior of it.

THE Seigneurs in Canada exercised by virtue of the Edict of this year, and by the Declaration of the subsequent year, a certain jurisdiction in the extent of their Seigniories. These Courts had a jurisdiction in civil as well as in criminal matters. They were attended however, with so many inconveniencies, that long before the Conquest, they fell into disuse, as the Fief could rarely support the charges of the establishment.

1682. ON the recal of Count Frontenac, the Province was committed to the care of Mr. le Fevre de la Barre, * and Mr. de Meules was appointed, Intendant. They were both directed by their instructions, to preserve a good understanding with the Count de Blenac, Governor General of the West India Islands, that such an intercourse and trade might be established as would be to the mutual advantage of both Countries. His Majesty particularly desired Mr. de Meules, to endeavor to be on the best terms with the Governor, and in cases where Mr. de la Barre should conduct himself contrary to the interests and good of the Service, to point out the evil consequences that would insue, and to report on those subjects in which they differed in opinion.

* Commission dated 1st May, Registered at Quebec, 9th October. Colony Records.

Mr. de la Barre had no sooner taken possession of the government, than he found the Colony in a critical situation. To collect the opinions of the most enlightened part of the community on the state of the Country, an Assembly composed of the Intendant, Bishop, Officers of the Army, Members of the Sovereign Council, Presidents of the Inferior Jurisdictions, Superiors of the Seminary, and the principal Missionaries. They stated in their Report to the Governor, that the object of the Five Nations was to divert the trade of Canada, and carry it to the English and Dutch at New York: that those nations ought to be considered as their greatest enemies who secretly endeavoured to detach the Indians attached to the French interest: that they had already seduced the Illinois, who were in alliance with them, that such was the weak state of the Colony, that no more than one thousand men could be brought into the field, in case of an attack. That it was necessary to establish depôts of provisions and ammunition as near these Indians as possible, that on a declaration of war, the most vigorous measures might be taken for the reduction of the rebellious Cantons. That though the Post at Cataraqui was of advantage, yet as one of the nations, the Senecas, were on the borders of Lake Ontario, it was necessary to provide boats to transport men, provisions, and ammunition for an expedition, in the event of war. That before any enterprize against them was undertaken, an application, should be made to the King for two or three hundred soldiers, a part to be stationed at Cataraqui and La Galette, while the rest should proceed to the attack; And to request the King to send over fifteen hundred labourers, as Engagés, to

CHAP. cultivate the lands while the inhabitants should be engaged in war, and that money should be sent for building of boats, and magazines for provisions.

II.

Mr. de la Barre, approved of the sentiments expressed at this meeting, and sent their Report to France, where it received the Royal approbation. Two hundred troops de la Marine, were sent over, with a letter from the King of France, signifying that the King of England had given express orders to Governor Dongan, of New York, to keep up a good understanding with the French in Canada, to which he did not doubt he would pay the strictest obedience ; de la Barre signified to Governor Dongan, by Message that he hoped that the Five Nations would not be permitted to interfere in the Trade carried on between the Indian Nations in alliance with the French.*

DONGAN, regardless of the King's orders, kept alive, the long continued resentment of the Five Nations, to the French, and encouraged the Traders of New-York, to participate with the Canadians in the Commerce on the Great Lakes to the Westward, which had become so extremely gainful and which was obstructed by their rivals, in proportion to its importance. To acquire the whole of this Trade, to the exclusion of the Canadians, was the object nearest his heart, and laid the

1682. * This was the memorable year of the Conformity of the General Assembly of the Clergy in France to the Crown's Prerogative over their Churches. In 1731, by an Arrêt of the King, all Archbishops and Bishops were interdicted, receiving, reading, publishing or executing any Bulls, Briefs, or Instruments of the Court of Rome, without Letters Patent of the King, registered in Parliament. Arrêt of 28th September, 1731 ; also Arrêt of 26th September, 1768, suppressing a Brief of Pope Clement, of the 13th January preceding.

ground work for the disputes between the two Nations, and which for many years, endangered the safety of both. CHAP. II.

WHILE de la Barre's Courier was on his return, a party of the Mohawks, fell in with fourteen Frenchmen, who were trading with the Illinois, defeated them and seized their Merchandize. They then proceeded on their route to Fort Saint Lewis, which they attacked, and took the whole party prisoners. 1684.

INCENSED with this conduct, de la Barre, assembled an army of six hundred Canadians, one hundred and thirty regulars and two hundred Indians, and putting himself at their head, left Quebec on the ninth of July, and arrived at Montreal on the twenty first of the same month. Here he was joined by more troops and proceeded on to Fort Frontenac, where he delayed six weeks, during which time, a great mortality took place, among his troops. The Cayugas, Onandagas and Oneydoes, finding themselves, unequal to the contest, proposed terms of conciliation, to which de la Barre the more readily acquiesced, as his troops began to suffer much, for the want of provisions, and were diminished by sickness. On de la Barre's return, he found that the King had sent out troops, for the further prosecution of the war, with orders, to make as many of the Five Nations prisoners as possible, as his Majesty, meant them to be employed on board of the galleys in France.

DE LA BARRE, whose age and infirmities were considered too great for the vigorous prosecution of the 1685.

CHAP. war, had for his successor * the Marquis de Nonville,
 II. Colonel of Dragoons, accompanied by Mr. de Saint
 Vallier, the successor of Laval. † As the prosecution of
 the war, was an object that engrossed the attention of the
 Government, six hundred troops were sent over to this
 country for that purpose. The active mind of de Non-
 ville, was busily employed during the winter, and he
 adopted the opinion, that as the Five Nations would not
 be friends, it was the true policy of France, either to
 humble them, or to cause their total extirpation. The
 Marquis, in his Report to the Government, stated in
 the strongest terms, the necessity of building a Fort at
 Niagara, to confine the English within their bounda-
 ries, and prevent the Five Nations from carrying their
 Peltries to them. And that, having the two extremi-
 ties of the Lake well defended, it would insure the
 command of it, and of course the Indian Trade. In-
 dependent of these advantages, it was conceived, that
 a Fort in their neighbourhood would render them more
 submissive, and restrain the frequent desertion of the
 French to the English, who generally served as guides
 in reconnoitering the French posts. To obviate any objec-
 tion that might be raised, as to the expence of the Post,
 he proposed the farming it out, which might produce
 a considerable sum, and be of no detriment to Canada,
 as the Furs that were brought that way generally went
 to New York. The merchants of Quebec approved
 of the Marquis's plan, and made an offer, to furnish
 the Posts with merchandize, on a Lease for nine years,

* His Commission dated 1st January, Registered at Quebec, 3d August fol-
 lowing. Colony Records.

† Mr. de Saint Vallier was forty-three years Bishop of Canada, and died at
 the General Hospital near Quebec, on 26th December, 1727.—A man remark-
 able for his piety, benevolence and virtue.

and to pay the annual rent of thirty thousand livres. CHAP.
II.

ABOUT a month after this, Colonel Dongan, of New York, wrote to the Marquis, stating the surprize and apprehensions of the Five Nations, who were in dread least the large store of provisions at Cataraqui was collected, with a view of declaring war against them : that he considered these people as subjects of Great Britain, and a declaration of war against them, would be considered by him, as an infraction of the subsisting Treaties between the two Nations ; and what added most to his surprize was, that the Marquis should attempt to build a Fort at Niagara, which Country he well knew belonged to New York.

THE Marquis answered, That the large Store of Provisions then at Cataraqui was intended for the supply of the Garrison, without any view of declaring war against the Five Nations, and that these suspicions must have been suggested by French refugees, to disturb the peace and tranquility of the two Colonies, and to bring about dissentions between the Five Nations and the French. That they considered the claim of Great Britain to the Country of the Five Nations unfounded, it being well known that the French had possession of that Country, long before the English were settled at New York : and as there existed a good understanding between the two Crowns, it was highly improper in them to disturb it.

DONGAN, who placed little dependance in the Marquis's assurances, prepared the Five Nations for war, and in the mean time, sent a number of Traders to the Falls of Saint Mary, for an exchange of Furs which

CHAP. II. had been collected there. The Marquis, well aware of the danger of permitting a commercial intercourse between Michillimackinack, and the English at New York, was determined on the war, as well to prevent this intercourse, as to convince Dongan, that though he might join the Indians, yet he was able to humble them. In the summer of this year, in time of peace, an Expedition was sent from Canada, and the French became masters of all the English Factories at Hudson's Bay, with the exception of Port Nelson. The English recovered their Factories in seven years afterwards, but the French got possession of them again soon after : in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-six, two English men of war retook them. In Queen Anne's war, the French again retook them, but by the Peace of Utrecht, the French quit claimed them to the English. In the spring of this year, the Marquis, * at the head of two thousand men, † one half Regulars, and the other Militia, with three hundred Indians, left Montreal on the eleventh of June, and proceeded on to Cataraqui, where he was met by a letter from Dongan, in which he observed, that he could not but condemn the conduct of the Marquis in declaring war against the King's Subjects, without giving him the least previous intimation, which his predecessor had never done before. The Marquis in his reply observed, that he did by no means consider the Five Nations as Subjects of Great Britain, and that Mr. de Barre's conduct was no

* *Etat présent d'Eglise et de la Colonie Française dans la Nouvelle France*, by Saint Valier Bishop of Quebec, page 243.

† Champigny was Intendant this year 1687. Arret of Council of State of the 4th of June, respecting Bannal Mills. If not built in a year, right lost, and transferred to him that does erect the Mill. Thought to work a repeal of 71st article of the Custom of Paris and other changes.—CUGNET.

example to him. The Marquis having dispatched the messenger with his answer, moved on with his little army, which he embarked in canoes, in two divisions, and on the twenty-third of June, one half proceeded on the South, and the other on the North side of Lake Ontario, and both met near Oswego, where landing his men, he sent forward scouts to discover the force of the enemy. No opposition being made, and the village deserted, the Marquis marched on without order or regularity, but when at the distance of a mile from it, five hundred Senecas, who lay in ambush, shouted the war whoop, and charged the French with spirit. The French immediately dispersed, and the greatest confusion and terror prevailed, when recovering from their dismay, they repulsed the Indians in their turn. The loss on both sides was inconsiderable. The French had eight killed and twenty wounded, and the Indians forty-five killed and sixty wounded. After destroying their Corn and Castle, the Marquis returned to the Lake, and erected a Fort at Niagara, in which he posted one hundred men, under the command of Le Chevalier de la Troye. From the want of provisions, the whole garrison, with the exception of ten soldiers perished through famine.

BEFORE de Nonville's return to Quebec, he proposed the settling of differences by negociation, and collected a number of the Chiefs of the Five Nations to a conference ; these Deputies far from expecting any stratagem were most basely seized loaded with Irons and sent to the Gallies. The Indians excused Lambreville, who had brought them to this conference and conducted him to a place of safety, and then took up arms to be reveng-

CHAP. ed. A party of Mohawks and Manhingans, advanced to
 II. the attack of Chambly, burnt several houses and captivated many of the Inhabitants who were taken to Albany. In the mean time, forty Onandagas surprized several Soldiers near Cataraqui, whom they confined as prisoners in lieu of the Indians, that had been carried to France. As soon as Dongan had heard of de Nonville's perfidy, he sent to the Marquis, with a declaration, that the Five Nations, should never make peace with the French, but on condition that, the Indians sent to the Gallies and the Cagnawahga Proselytes should be returned to their Tribes, Niagara and Frontinac demolished, and the Senecas compensated for the damages they sustained in the late expedition.

DONGAN in the mean while sent for the Chiefs of the Five Nations, and explained to them, the answer he had given to de Nonville's Messenger. They highly approved of his conduct, and Dongan was now in hopes, that the French, would no longer treat the Five Nations as independent nations, and that the Indians themselves would acknowledge their dependence on the English Crown. The mistaken policy of King James of England, counteracted the wise conduct of Dongan, and when on the eve of accomplishing what he wished, he was ordered to persuade the Five Nations to send Messengers to Canada and to receive proposals of peace from de Nonville. For this purpose a cessation of arms and a mutual redelivery of prisoners was agreed upon. Near twelve hundred of the Five Nations, attended this negociation at Montreal, and in their Speech to de Nonville, insisted with great resolution on the terms proposed by Colonel Dongan to Father le Vaillant. The

French Governor declared his willingness to put an end to the war, if all his allies might be included in the Peace, and if the Mohawks and Senecas would send deputies to signify their concurrence, and the French might supply Fort Frontenac with Provisions. These terms were at length agreed to, and Peace was ratified in the Field.

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WHILE these negotiations were going on, *Le Rat*, the bravest, the most resolute, and most subtle Indian, ever found in the wilds of America, arrived at Fort Frontenac, with a chosen band of Hurons. He had been told, that there was a prospect of peace between the French and the Five Nations, that the Deputies were on the route to Montreal, and that it would be an insult to the French Governor, if he should commit hostilities against the Five Nations, now about concluding peace. *Le Rat*, incensed at the conduct of de Nonville, in entering into negotiations, without consulting his nation, as one of his allies, resolved to punish him for his presumption. *Le Rat*, with his party, left Frontenac, and lay in wait for the Deputies. He soon came up with them and killed several and took the rest prisoners. When the Ambassador told them the object of their journey, he feigned the greatest surprize, and assured the Deputies, that they were attacked by the express order of De Nonville. The better to carry on the deceit, he released all the prisoners, except one, who was detained in the place of one that had been killed, and then addressed himself to Dekanesora, the principal Ambassador:

“Go, my Brethren, I untie your hands, and send

CHAP. you home again. Though our nations be at war, the
 II. French Governor has made us commit so black an action, that I shall never be easy, till the Five Nations shall have taken revenge." He then hastened to Michillimackinac, where he presented his prisoner to the French Commandant, who, ignorant of the Treaty that was on foot, immediately put him to death. An old Seneca Indian, who had been many days a prisoner, was set at liberty, and he desired him to acquaint his nation, that while the French were amusing them with negotiations, they were murdering their Countrymen. The artifice succeeded as *Le Rat* had wished; war was renewed with the utmost fury and thirst for revenge. It had been determined at a Council of war of the Five Nations, early in the Spring to attack the Island of Montreal, and to lay waste the Country; to carry this intention into execution, a large body of twelve hundred
 1688. Indians, after a fatiguing march landed on the twenty-sixth of July, on the south side of the Island. The army was divided into several small parties, with orders to lay waste the Country. They killed near one thousand persons, burnt many houses, and carried off many captives. The Mohawks lost only three men, in this scene of desolation.*

THE Garrison at Lake Ontario, was no sooner apprized of this dreadful calamity, than they deserted the post, and passing down the river two precipitately, many were drowned in shooting the falls. The Five Nations, availed themselves of this consternation, seized the Fort, and secured the Stores, that had been deposited

* Smith's History of New York, p. 57. Charlevoix says that this invasion was in August, the Indians 1500, and that the French only lost 200.

there. The allies of the French, thought it no longer their interest to be connected with those that were unable to assist them, and they begged to make peace with the English and the Five Nations.

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II.

To such a deplorable state was Canada reduced, that the Inhabitants hardly dared to cultivate their lands, and those that ventured to sow their corn, frequently had it destroyed, by the scouting parties of the Mohawks, who spread desolation and horror, where ever they went. †

CANADA, subsisted from the period of its original establishment, chiefly by its great commerce in Furs. With the view to regulate this commerce which had been conducted by a number of disorderly persons, known by the appellation of *Coueurs de Bois*, a limited number of written licences from the Governor General, were directed by the King to be granted to poor gentlemen and old officers, that they might convoy, exclusively, merchandize to the Lakes. Whenever these licences were obtained, there was no difficulty in finding *Coueurs de Bois* to undertake the long voyages, which it was necessary for them to take to gain a considerable profit. The merchants placed six men in two canoes, stipulated in each licence, together with the value of a thousand crowns in merchandize suitable for the Savages, rated and delivered to these *Coueurs de Bois*, at fifteen per cent more than the price at which it was sold for ready money in the

† The Population of Canada, by a Census amounted to 11,249 Souls.—Charlevoix, Vol. I. p. 542.

CHAP. Colony. The sum of one thousand crowns brought, usually, at a medium on a return voyage, seven hundred per cent. These two canoes, which carried only one thousand crowns in value, produced after the barter took place, a sufficient number of beaver skins to load four canoes. These could carry one hundred and sixty packets of beaver skins, with forty in each, which were worth fifty crowns, making in all, at the conclusion of the voyage, the sum of eight thousand crowns, which was generally distributed in the following manner : The merchant received in beaver the payment of the licence, which was six hundred crowns, and that of the merchandize, a thousand crowns. Upon the six thousand four hundred of surplus, they took forty per cent on the money advanced for the adventure, which made two thousand five hundred and sixty crowns. The residue was divided among the *Coueurs de Bois*, who certainly well earned the six hundred crowns or nearly, which remained to each for the inconceivable toils they had undergone. Besides the immense profits already mentioned, the merchant derived twenty-five per cent, on these beaver skins, upon carrying them to the Office of the Farmer General, where the prices of four qualities of that article were regulated.

1689. DE CALLIERES, the Governor of Montreal, had long been convinced, that the security and tranquility of the country, was only to be preserved, by humbling the Five Nations, by a superior force, and as the English at New York, openly avowed their alliance with them, it became of the utmost importance for the preservation of the Colony, to conquer that Province : to second the plan he had adopted, Mr. de Callieres went to

France, and his views were approved of by the Ministry. CHAP. II.
 He proposed to the Government : * That he should have the command of thirteen hundred regular soldiers, and three hundred Canadians, which he should march by Lake Champlain, under pretext of declaring war against the Five Nations, and when arrived in their Country, he would assure them that he wished to be at peace with them, and only meant to carry on hostilities against the English. He stated that Albany, was defended by a small Fort, surrounded with a stockade and picketting, garrisoned with one hundred and fifty men, and the whole Town consisted only of three hundred inhabitants. New York had a garrison of but four hundred men, and was defended by a small Fort of four bastions, mounted with a few cannon. The conquest of the latter place would make the King master of one of the finest harbours of America, and admissible at all seasons. That though there was a Treaty of Neutrality, † yet as the English had broken it, there was no reason why it should be kept on the part of France : that as the English had conquered New York from the Dutch, the latter would gladly obey the Prince of Orange, and would compel the Governor to resign his Government. If, however, it should be determined to wait, until war was actually declared, it was necessary to be ready by the beginning of the month of June.

ON the recall of the Marquis De Nonville, the Province was a second time committed to the care of the

* France was then at War with Holland.

† Treaty of Neutrality of last year, as to Possessions in America. Registered 21st July at Quebec.—Colony Records.

CHAP. Count De Frontenac, * at the instance of many of his
 II. friends, and at the particular solicitation of the Marechal de Bellefont, who engaged to be responsible for the Count's conduct. Though many entertained apprehensions that his violence of temper, might again lead him into errors, yet, fortunately, both for himself and the Colony, he was no longer under the influence of his passions, and the people committed to his care, enjoyed the blessings of a wise and lenient administration.

THE war, between England and France, furnished an opportunity to the French Government to pursue the plan, that had been suggested by the Governor of Montreal. A fleet, under the command of Mr. de Caffinière, having on board, a body of Troops, under the orders of the Count de Frontenac, had sailed in the Month of July from Rochefort, and arrived at Chebucto in September following. The Count from thence proceeded on to Quebec, leaving orders with Caffinière to sail for the Bay of New York, and there to wait until the tenth of December, when if he received no intelligence from him he was ordered to return to France, after unlading the ammunition, stores and provisions at Port Royal.† The Count was in high spirits and intent on the enterprize, until his arrival at Quebec, when he learnt the success of the Five Nations, against Montreal, the loss of his favorite Fort at Cataraqui, which, with the advanced state of the season, defeated his aims, and broke up the expedition. The Count in a few days afterwards, proceeded on to Montreal, where his presence was neces-

* Commission dated 15th May.—Registered at Quebec, 28th November.

† Annapolis, Nova Scotia.

sary, to animate the Inhabitants and regain the Indian alliances. The Count, did all in his power, to conclude a peace between the Five Nations and Canada, and great attention and presents were made to the Indians, who had been sent to France by de Nonville, and were now returned. Three of these Indians were sent on this Embassy, and a Great Council was held on the twenty second of January, when the Five Nations, though they expressed their wish for peace, at the same time, artfully guarded against making use of any expressions unfriendly to the English. To raise the spirit of the Canadians, and with a view of detaching the Five Nations from the English, the Count sent out several parties, under the command of Messieurs d Aillebout, de Mantel and le Moyne. Their first object was the attack of Albany, or New York, but when, within a shot of Schenectady, they were induced by the Indians, to attack that place, which was represented by them as capable of no resistance. The French commander determined on the attack on the eighth of February, and dividing his force in several small parties, they assailed the Town, at eleven o'clock at night, and finding no resistance made by the Inhabitants, who had no accounts of their approach, the most inhuman butcheries were committed. Not only the Village was set fire to, but women with child were ripped open and their infants cast into the flames or dashed against the doors. Sixty men, women, and children were put to death in cold blood, and twenty-seven carried off in captivity. On the receipt of this dreadful massacre, at Albany, universal dread seized the inhabitants, who abandoned the city, and retired to more secure places of retreat. When the Mohawks learnt, that many of the Settlers near

CHAP. Albany had quitted their lands with an intention of never returning to them again, they addressed the People, urging them to a union of strength, that together they could defend themselves against the incursions of the French: one of the Chiefs rose up in the Council, and made a Speech of condolence:—

“ Brethren,

“ WE do not think, that what the French have done, can be called a Victory: it is only a proof of their cruel deceit: the Governor of Canada sent to Onandago, and talked to us of Peace with our whole Nation, but war was in his heart. As you now see by woeful experience. He did the same formerly at Cataraqui, and in the Seneca Country. This is the third time, he has acted so deceitfully. He has broken, open our House at both ends, formerly in the Senecas Country, and now here. We hope, however, to be revenged of them.”

AGREEABLY to this declaration, several parties of Mohawks advanced towards the River Saint Lawrence, in search of the French Scouts. Captain Louvigni, of the French army, who had been charged with presents to the Indians of Michillimackinac, was on his way with one hundred and forty-three French Soldiers and a few Indians, when, he was met at “Les Chats”* about one hundred and twenty miles from Montreal, by a party of Mohawks, who fell on them with such vigour, that Louvigni was repulsed. The French, however, soon recovered from their dismay, and the party of the Five Nations were routed in their turn, who lost thirty men killed, and several of them were made prisoners. One of the


* A Lead Mine had been discovered at “Le Portage des Chats,” by Mr. Guillet.—Colony Records.

captives was sent to Michillimackinac, and was delivered over to the Ottawas, who ate him. While this was doing, another party advanced as far as Pointe aux Trembles, on the Island of Montreal, killed an officer and twelve men, took several prisoners, whom they slew for fear of their pursuers, and on their return burnt the Plantation of Saint Ours, on the River Sorel.

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As Frontenac's activity would not permit him to remain idle, constant parties were sent to the Colonies to distress the English and intimidate the Indians; a meeting of the Commissioners from the New England Provinces took place on the first of May, one thousand six hundred and ninety, at New York, to concert measures for the common defence. It was at this convention that a plan was concerted for an expedition against Canada.* It was ordered that eight hundred men should be raised for that purpose, the quotas of the several Colonies were fixed, and general rules adopted for the management of the army. A small vessel was sent express to England, with a Representation of the exposed state of the Colonies, and of the necessity of the reduction of Canada. A Request was made to His Majesty for a supply of ammunition, and a number of frigates, to attack the enemy by water, while the Colonial troops made an Invasion by land. But the affairs of the Nation were such, at that time, that no assistance could be given. New York and the New England Colonies, however, determined to prosecute their original plan of attacking Canada. It was proposed, with eight hundred English, and five hundred In-

* Trumbull's History of Connecticut. Vol. I. p. 402.

CHAP. II.  dians, to make an attack on Montreal, while a fleet and army of eighteen hundred or two thousand men were to proceed up the Saint Lawrence, and at the same time to make an attack on Quebec. It was hoped, that the French would be so divided and distracted, that the whole Country would submit to the English Government. At the same time that the army under the command of General Winthrop, proceeded to the Falls near Wood Creek, in the then Province of New York, the fleet should sail from Nantasket Road near Boston, for Quebec. It consisted of thirty-five vessels great and small; the largest carried forty-four guns, and two hundred men. Sir William Phipps, the Governor of Massachussetts, had the chief command. † The fleet had a long passage, and did not arrive until the fifth of October.

WHEN the English army arrived on the borders of Lake Champlain a large body of Indians were to have joined them, but owing to some inexplicable cause, only seventy warriors could be collected. When their General had advanced about a hundred miles, he found that there were not canoes sufficient to transport one half of the English soldiers across the Lake, which being represented to the Indians, they replied, that it was too late in the season to make canoes, as the bark would not peel. They artfully avoided every proposal, and only wished delay. To those difficulties was added a more insuperable one, as the Contractor of the Army, had shown the most criminal indifference to the

† Captain Gregory Sugars, was the Admiral; Captain Carter, Vice Admiral; Captain Gilbert, Rear Admiral. 1st Ship, Six Friends.—The John and Thomas, 2d—The Severn, 3d—Oldmixon, Vol. I. p. 140.

provisioning of it, the troops were compelled to retreat to Albany, for subsistence.

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SCHUYLER, who before this had crossed the Lake, left forty men, to guard his canoes, and pushed on to the attack of La Prairie de la Magdeleine, where there were posted some Militia and Indians; these he attacked with great spirit, and compelled them to retire to a Fort, which was garrisoned by a body of regulars; he attacked the Fort, but was compelled to retire, with the loss of seventeen men killed and eleven wounded. The French lost in these engagements eighty men, killed and wounded, including thirteen officers.

As soon as Frontenac learnt from his scouts that the Land Army had retreated, he returned with the utmost dispatch to Quebec, leaving orders with Mr. de Ramsey, Governor of Three Rivers, and Mr. le Chevalier de Callières to collect, with the utmost dispatch, the Troops and Militia, to reinforce the Garrison of Quebec. The Count highly approved of the conduct of Major Provost, who commanded before his arrival, and confirmed all the orders that had been issued by him. The Militia of Beaupré, Beauport, the Island of Orleans and of Lauzon, were ordered to remain in their several posts, until the English should make a descent, when they were to hold themselves ready to march, where they might be most wanted. A party under the command of Mr. de Longueuil, was dispatched down the River, to observe the motions of the Fleet, and to prevent the English from making a descent, to which was added a second party, with express orders to Mr. de

CHAP. Vaudreuil, to return to Quebec, as soon as he should.
 II. descry the English Fleet on their passage up the River.

THE Count apprehensive, lest several vessels expected from France, might fall into the hands of the English, dispatched two Canoes, well equipped, by the North Channel of the Island of Orleans, to descend the River, until they found those vessels, if in the river, and to acquaint them with the situation of affairs.

WHILE these precautions were taken, the Count was busily employed in fortifying the City, and by the exertions of the Soldiery and Militia, it was in a short time put in a good posture for defence. The fortifications of the city consisted of works that commenced at the Bank above the Intendant's Palace, and stretching along the Upper Town, which they environed, terminated at Cape Diamond. They were also continued from the Palace along the summit of the rock which forms the North Eastern Boundary of the Town, and with pallisades to the Seminary, where they joined a Battery of three guns, immediately over the Sault-au-Matelot. In the Lower Town there were two Batteries each of three eighteen pounder guns, filling up the Intervals between those in the Upper Town. The gates of the Town were barricaded with strong beams of timber, and with casks filled with earth, on the tops of which were placed light artillery. The road which led from the Upper to the Lower Town, was obstructed by three different intrenchments, composed of barrels and bags filled with earth. During the siege, another Battery had been erected at the Sault-au-Matelot, and another at the Gate leading to the River Saint Charles. Some pieces of cannon were disposed on the higher

ground, and on the walls of a Windmill, which served as a Cavalier.

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EARLY in the morning of the fifth† of October,* the English Fleet was seen from the Town, gaining the Beauport side of the River; they dropped their anchors at ten o'clock, where they remained, until the

† Charlevoix says, it was on the 16th: This is a mistake. Oldmixon.— Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. Vol. I. p. 399. Douglass' Summary.

* MAJOR WALLEY'S JOURNAL IN THE EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA
IN 1690.

A narrative of the proceedings to Canada, soe far as concerned the land army.

HAVING passed the isle of Percey, and being put back by a contrary wind, it was designed there to have landed our souldiers, to have settled our companys, to have called a council of warr, to have made and declared such orders as was necessary for regulating our forces, but by several of our ships and vessels being drove out of the harbour by a storm, they came not in again seasonably, and soe what was intended was prevented.

UPON the 23d of Sept. wee came to an anchor at Tarrasack,‡ a council of warr was called; such orders and ordinances made as was judged necessary, and ordered to be published in every vessel, and at the head of each company, which orders are upon record and may be seen.

UPON the 27th Sept. being about 25 leagues from Cabeck,† I went aboard each vessel in the fleet, that had souldiers, to take care that they might be all ready and fixt for the service, not knowing how soon there might be occasion; and whereas there had been complaints, that, aboard several of the vessels, the souldiers and others had near a third part of their allowance taken off without order, I then gave orders that their full allowance might be given them.

UPON the 5th Oct. wee came up with the Isle of Orleans, the whole fleet together, and having promised our men, that they should with the first convenience be landed to refresh themselves, and not having opportunity before, thought it might doe well to doe it then, proposing to the council that wee might then settle the companys, that wee might then secure the island, gaine intelligence, and upon our informations to draw up such conclusions as were necessary, and not to have appeared in sight of the town untill wee were fully ready to fall upon them; but it was over-ruled by the council, and agreed we should take the advantage of the tide and be in sight of the town by day light, which was accordingly done.

UPON the 6th Oct. it was concluded that a summons should be sent ashores, and, while the answer was coming, to put ourselves in the best posture we

‡ Tadousack.

† Quebeck.

CHAP. next day, when it was concluded that a summons would
 II. be sent on shore. A messenger being ready, the following summons was sent :

could for landing, but by that time the messenger was returned wee found the tides did not sute, and that it would be too late to land that night. It was alsoe then agreed upon, that the army should land at the north shore, at the place wee after landed at ; that the small vessels, that had guns, should take in the ammunition, provision, field pieces, shovels, spades and other necessarys for the souldiers, (that tide or the next they were to come up to Charles river, that lyes by the town,) that the ships boats should come into the river to be helpfull to carry the souldiers over, and the souldiers to be ready by the river when they came, that so they might be helpful each to other, as there had been occasion ; that the field pieces should come in those vessels to be landed on the other side the river ; it was alsoe agreed that, when wee were over the river, the men of warr were to sail up with the town, and when they perceived wee were upon the hill, especially if we then fired a house, they were then to land 200 men under their guns, and were to make a brisk and resolute charge to enter the town ; alsoe agreed that Shute and others of the larger vessels that were not men of warr, were to goe beyond the town, that the enemy might thinke we had another army to land there ; alsoe agreed that wee should have two ministers and three chirurgeons ashore.

THESE things being thus agreed on, on the next morning being the 7th Oct. wee attempted to land our men, but by a storm were prevented, few of the boats being able to row a head, and found it would endanger our men and wett our armes, at which time the vessel Capt. Savage was in went ashore, the tide fell, left them dry, the enemy came upon them, they manfully defended themselves. I went aboard several vessels, and, though with some difficulty, caused some small vessels that had guns to weigh, and sent some boats that endeavoured to help them, or if no other way to bring off the men, but the weather and shoals were such they could do them noe good ; the enemy were awed by some guns from Sir William, that the shott flew among the thickest of them, alsoe by some guns from Capt. Eldridge. At the tides coming in they floated and all gott off safe. That night, aboard Sir William's ship, the French prisoners informed us of a place about two miles beyond the town, that would be more commodious for landing the army, which I then thought might be best, (but Capt. Davis saith since, wee should not a mended our selvés) but it was said the council of warr had determined the place, and wee had not time to call them together then, and it would be safest to attend order.


THE next day, being the 8th Oct. as soon as the bad weather was over and the tides suited, wee landed our men, which considering how farr many of our vessels were from the shoar, and the helps wee had, never more men were landed in less time ; but the flatts lay off soe we were forced to go into the water, some up to the knees, and some near as high as their waists upon the flatts. I drew up

Sir William Phipps, Knight, General and Commander CHAP.
 in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Forces of New II.
 England, by Sea and Land ;

To Count Frontenac, Lieutenant General, and Governor for the French King at Canada, or in absence, to his Deputy, or him or them in Chief Command.

THE war between the two Crowns of England and France, does not only sufficiently warrant, but the de-

the whole army, which consisted of between 12 and 1300 men, caused four companys to be drawn out as forlorns, though the ground would not admitt the forlorn and main battle to be far the one from the other ; this being done, I ordered the forlorns to advance and to march, at their open order, towards the upland, and by this time the tide was upon the ground wee stood on : The forlorn were no sooner advanced a few rods, before there was firing from both sides ; upon one wing some of our men saw the enemy in the bushes and fired first, but upon the other wing, and in most places, the enemy had the first shot at us ; and from a village over a creek on our right wing, there was a party gauled us considerably ; upon the charge our officers and souldiers shewed courage and resolution enough, yet some having given an order to fire and fall off, but judging under the present circumstances, ordered the whole body to shoot and run up at once, which they did with one consent, that it was hard to say which company went up first or fastest ; upon which, the enemy having generally made a second shott, they gave way at once, and by the convenience of swamps and bushes, they had an opportunity to run away and secure themselves, but yet in partys out of every corner of a swamp or thicket they kept firing upon us ; wee continued our chase and march towards the town, and killed some of the enemy as wee went. Being informed that the enemy had fired at our men out of a barn, and judging, there were some in it, I ordered it to be fired ; we come up with a house where was a hogshead of claret sett at the door, and seeing our souldiers gather about it, least it were poisoned, or might otherwise harm our men or hinder our march, I ordered the head to be knocked out ; drawing nearer the town and finding the army too much scattered, and not knowing but wee might be met withall by a force from the town, I drew up a good part of our forces and marcht on ; wee continued our march until it was dark, two thirds of the army took up their stand by a creek, where was a house and some other shelter, with the other part I advanced about a quarter of a mile, that we might the better secure the shoar and too see our vessels that were to come into the river ; there wee took up our quarters, placed our out guards and sentinels, and did what was necessary for securing ourselves and taking notice of the motion of the enemy ; wee then took the ad-

CHAP. II. struction made by the French and Indians under your command and encouragement, upon the persons and estates of their Majesty's Subjects of New England, without provocation on their part, hath put them under

vantage of the house, barn, hay and straw, that those that were not upon duty might keep themselves as warm as they could. Making inquiry what damage wee had received from the enemy, or done to them, found wee had not above 4 killed outright at our landing, nor less than 60 officers and souldiers wounded, and it was judged wee had killed 20, some say 30 of the enemy, and since, have been informed their hospital is full of wounded men, and it is said they had not less than 7 or 800 men that lay undiscovered to take the advantage at our landing; all things considered, it was a great mercy wee had no more damage done us. The same evening, having information of a Frenchman that had surrendered himself and was with the other part of the army, I sent for him and strictly examined him, severely threatned him if I caught him in a lye, told him wee had taken other French prisoners, and if he told us any thing that was false wee should soon find it. He told us wee should cut him in pieces if he told us any thing but what was truth; he informed that there were about 600 men that were in the swamp at our coming ashore, that there was a Captain and other officers killed, besides others that he saw, that the French had 900 men from the town, more, upon their march towards us, that they were over the river, but seeing wee had landed our men soe suddainly, and beaten the French off the ground, and were marching towards the town, that they retreated, marcht back to the town, or at least to the other side of the river: He said the Earl of Frontenack was come down, the governor of Mount Royal and the intendánt; that a great many souldiers came into Cabeck on the Thursday before, a great many with the governor upon Friday, and more with the governor of Mount Royal on Saturday, and many since: He alsoe said he was a souldier of Mount Royal that had run away, and that they were seeking after him (which wee after found true.) He alsoe said, he came by the information by a Mount Royal souldier, that he had mett withall, which acquainted him they had lost but 50 souldiers at Mount Royal, and added, that he had heard some French officers, at the next house to that wee were then at, say, that they had not less than 3000 men in the town; he alsoe said, that at the most convenient place of the souldiers going over they had planted 8 guns. All which, afterwards, we had confirmed. That others might not be discouraged, wee told him he was sent by the enemy to tell us a parcel of lies, but he said he had told us nothing but what we should find true.

AFTER this, I sent for the rest of the forces to come over, that wee might not be too much scattered, and sent for the majors and captains, and such as belonged to the council of warr, to consider and conclude what was farther to be done; after some discourse, it was concluded by the whole, that, for as much as the vessels were not come up the river with our supplies of provision, ammunition; and

the necessity of this Expedition, for their own security and satisfaction : and although the cruelties and barbarities used against them by the French and Indians, might upon the present occasion, prompt to a severe

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other necessities, neither the boats for transporting our men, that, as matters were thus circumstanced, wee were not in a capacity to advance, but hoped the vessels would be in with the tide, that was before day, and that if they came, wee would be ready to be helpfull to defend them, as we expected help from them; but the winds prevented their coming, as the masters after said. Before day, contrary to order, and without my knowledge, they landed the six field pieces, at the point near which the army lay, which greatly clogg'd us, and would have made our passidge over the river very difficult. In the evening, wee see Capt. Gilbert weigh anchor, and the ships of warr sail up to the town, and the several ships plying their guns upon the town, and the town upon them, with utmost diligence ; but the reason of their going before the land army were over the river, wee understood not till afterwards. The cold of the night, and our souldiers not having opportunity to dry themselves until the next day, proved very prejudicial to them. Upon the 9th of October, Sir William's ship returned from the town, being, as wee were informed, very much disabled, having been very smartly engaged with the town, alsoe were informed, that the men of warr had not powder enough left for two rounds apeece ; but, however, supposing they had secured and would supply us with what was promised, and reckning it was aboard the small vessels that were to come into the river, we still expected their coming in, and that day advanced nearer the town, where wee had better shelter for the men, and a better place for our defence, where we placed out our guards, and put ourselves in the best posture we could to defend ourselves and offend our enemies, if they had come upon us, sent out partys to gain intelligence and make discovery, and what provision came within our reach was killed for the use of the army ; our provisions being so much in the masters of the vessels power, and not in the commissary-generals order and dispose, proved a great damidge, for, by reason hereof, some souldiers were provided for and others wanted, and all the rum that could be procured, to refresh the souldiers, was only about 60 gallons, which was spared from Sir William's ship, the rest either had it not, or would not own they had.

Our souldiers dried themselves, gott what refreshment they could, and hoped the vessels might come in the evening tide, wee seeing more and more need of them, being more and more sensible of the enemies strength, and our own men, many, growing sick and unfit for service. But the vessels not coming, we stood upon our guard that night, but found it exceeding cold, it freezing that night soe that the next morning the ice would bear a man. That night I called a council, demanded their opinion what was to be done, for it would be to no purpose

CHAP. II. revenge, yet, being desirous to avoid all inhumanity and unchristianlike actions, and to prevent the shedding of blood as much as may be, I, the said William Phipps, Knight, do hereby, in the name, and on the behalf of

to lye there ; one in behalf of sundry others said, they had been together considering thereof, and that for as much as we had not suitable supplys of provisions ashore, little or no ammunition to recruit if there should be occasion, that our men were, many, sick and wearied, that they had the difficultys of the river to deal with, neither boats nor vessels to help us in our going over, that we had 8 great guns and 1000 men at the river side that were ready for us, after that, a steep bank and narrow passage to win, up or through which wee should not a been able to have carried our great guns, neither could wee have carried them over, where wee might have had them for use, without the help of our boats or vessels, after all this, a well fortified town with three times our number of men within to encounter with, having but one chirurgeon ashore, though three were ordered, the increasing cold weather, the enemy being capable and had a fair opportunity, had we gone over, by reason of their men on our backs and guns by Charles river, to cut off all supplys and preventing our sending off soe much as a wounded man ; after some discourse on these matters it was concluded, as I understood, by the whole, that I should goe on board that morning to Sir William, and acquaint him with our difficultys and disappointments, and that it was their agreement, if he were willing, that the army should get aboard that night or before day, and that they should rest and refresh themselves a day or two, and if they found they had ammunition suitable, they were ready to land at any other place, or under the guns at the town, if the counsel should soe conclude ; there was that day two men to each gun sent ashore, a barrel of powder for the great guns, and half a barrel besides, and 100 wt. of bullets or something more.

THE 10th, before noon, I went aboard to Sir William, acquainted him how matters went ashore, and of the desire and conclusion of the officers ; he said he could a been glad we had been capable to have proceeded, but consented to their coming aboard, and said the boats should be sent ashore before day ; after I had been aboard a while, wee heard guns goe off ashore and perceived our out guards were charged by the enemy ; I was going off, but, perceiving it was soon over, staid a while, and in the afternoon went ashore again, found our guards and some scouts had been engaged by the enemy ; Major Savage sent reliefs as was necessary, but being informed that the enemy might be 1000 men over the river, he sent Capt. Corwin with orders that the souldiers should make an orderly retreat, for if the enemy were numerous it were better to prepare to meet them in the plain fields than among the swamps ; wee had 4 men wounded, one died of his wounds, and, through hast in the retreat, a small drummer left his drum behind him ; they did considerable damage to the enemy, but could not give a certain and particular account thereof, they fired several houses and barns and returned, but the enemy see no cause to follow them. That night wee kept a very strong

their Most Excellent Majesties, William and Mary, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, and by order of their Majesties said Government of the Massachusett Colony

and strict watch, I acquainted the souldiers of their coming aboard ; after midnight several of the commanders desired we might remove our army nearer to the place where we were to goe off, accordingly wee silently marched off the ground, carryed back our guns ; when I had taken care that wee had left none behind, I went to the place where they were ordered to march, found our souldiers too many of them upon the beach ready to goe off if there had been an opportunity ; I caused them to be drawn up upon the upland adjoining, and put them in a posture for service if they had been attacked by the enemy, for wee were within sight and hearing of the town. Before day the boats began to row ashore, but soe many of our men drew off without orders, that they might be ready to get in with the first, I foreseeing the confusion that was like to be, and perceiving there would not be time before it was light to get all off, I sent the boats all way and would not let any goe off at that time.

THE 11th day, being soe near as to heare them calling one to another at the town, their drumming and ringing before day, and other noises in the woods, that wee had reason to thinke they intended that day to come out against us with their whole strength ; in the morning they fired several great guns at us but did us no harm, our men all that day standing to their arms, drums beating, colours flying, fair in sight of the town, we saw several of the enemy not far from us, and many on the other side of the river, besides what was in the town ; it is said that Capt. Davis † reckoned, what they had in the town and that alarmed us and guarded their shoars, they were more than 4000 men ; they sent out 7 or 800 fresh men dayly to alarm us and to watch our motions. Designing to goe off that night, and there being like to be a good opportunity, I called several of the officers and acquainted them that I was designed to send three parties of souldiers to beat up the swamps that were round us, and beat off these spies that we had reason to judge lay near us, accordingly ordered three 16 files to be detached out of the several companies, and sent them out commanded by Capt. Barnet, and Capt. Minot, and that party that was sent out upon our right wing were soon engaged ; sent Capt. March forthwith, who had a good company, and they then soon made the enemy give back, but they continued firing briskly at each other ; I sent out several companies to relieve them, In the mean time not knowing but this party might have been sent to occasion the drawing off a great part of our forces, and they might have a greater strength near us, wherefore I sent out to make discovery, and stood ready with the rest of the army to fight them if they

† Davis was then a prisoner at Quebec, taken at Casco bay.

CHAP. in New England, demand a surrender of your Forts and
 II. Castles and the things and other Stores, unembezzled,
 with a seasonable delivery of all Captives, together with
 a surrender of all your Persons and Estates to my dis-

had come up with us. The souldiers were ordered to keep firing at the enemy, in and about the swamps near us and where they saw the enemy until it was darke which accordingly they did.

It then growing near night, I ordered the sick men to be carried aboard, which might be done by day light, because two or three boats might goe off well enough unsuspected. That day, Alexander Smart came ashore with a commission to be master gunner, and had 52 seamen under his command for to attend the guns. A little before night, I called him and acquainted him that the army was to goe off that night, and gave him a charge about the guns, in particular ordered that three guns should goe off before any men went, or with the first, the other should be let alone to the last and kept for to defend the souldiers if there had been occasion, and to be put aboard the last boats, which might be soon, done; he made me answer that, though he was the last man aboard, he would see all the guns off; I parted with him then and never see him afterwards that I knew of; I then acquainted Major Savage and other officers, that wee would draw off half each regiment at a time, and he should draw off half his regiment first, and ordered that those that went in the first boats should be helpful to draw down those three guns that were to goe first aboard, which they did and concluded they were gone on board. It growing very dark, notwithstanding I had ordered the officers to keep the souldiers to their arms, many precipitately and disorderly drew down to the beach, four times more than had leave, and a very great noise was made, which I was much troubled at, and was willing to go down to see if I could still them; I called to Major Ward, ordered him he should do what he could to keep the souldiers to their arms, and not to move without order, which he soon found too hard for him to do; I ordered some souldiers to keep the rest from crowding down until those were gone off that were upon the flats; I called to them to be silent, but either of these were little regarded, for the croud and the noise both increased; the seamen calling out for such souldiers as belonged to their vessels, and the souldiers for such boats as came from the vessels they belonged to, hundreds in the water up to the knees and higher, pressing into boats, the seamen and they contending, by reason whereof I see boats were like to be five times longer a loading than they needed; I saw a necessity of my going off to the boats, went aboard a small boat belonging to Mr. Winsor, commanded silence, ordered the boats to take the men in, as they came, and to carry them to the first vessels they came at, which was not minded by many, but as I was forced to goe from boat to boat and see it done, for otherways some of the seamen would throw the souldiers overboard if they did not belong to them, or the souldiers would have pressed into boats to have sunk them. After my being at the point not less than three hours, the men were most

pose. Upon the doing whereof, you may expect mercy from me, as a Christian, according to what shall be found for their Majesties Service and the Subjects' security; which if you refuse forthwith to do, I come

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off, and every thing still quiet; the boats were all gone, I began to think because I see none a coming they thought the men were all off, I questioned how many men were upon the point, some said 150, wee judged about 100 or 120. Told them I would see if any boats were coming, rowed off and heard several boats rowing, went to them and ordered them to hasten to the shoar; and though I thought there might be enough to take off all the men, yet they should rather have too many than want, I told them I would go to the next vessels that had boats aboard and send them away, which I did with all speed. Being now well satisfied our men were safe off, I went on board Sir William's ship, I acquainted how matters were, told him I hoped the guns were off, for did not see them when I came away; he made answer he questioned, for the master gunner had been aboard long before, and could not give account they were off, immediately came one of the gunners aboard, with a gun, and said that the guns were all off, I then being satisfied that both men and guns were all off, I went to my cabin to take my rest, having had but little for 3 days and nights before. Soon after, Mr. Dearing came aboard, who came off in the last parsel of boats, and acquainted some of the officers and divers others, that there was 5 of the guns ashore, that they had been under water, but appeared when he came away, they did not acquaint Sir William nor myself of it, until the next morning, for wee had come off undiscovered, and there was 4 or 5 hours time that they might been easily and safely fetcht, but that was neglected; they sent in the morning, but then it was too late.

THE 12th day a council was called, several, but not all the commanders aboard, they discoursed of landing at the town, or at Orleance, many of the officers declared that many of their men were sick and unfit for service; however, it was agreed that the men should have a day or two's time to refresh themselves, and to inquire what capacity wee were in for a further attempt, and some time should be spent on Monday in prayer, to seek God's direction, but the weather prevented our meeting, and wee necessitated to weigh and fall down to Orleance, many vessels drove from their anchors, and were in danger of being drove on upon the town; wee then sent ashore about our captives, but winds and weather after proved such, as wee had never opportunity to come together, but the whole fleet were scattered, and such exceeding hard cold and windy werther sett in for 3 weeks or a month together, as I never was in so much together.

THIS narrative given into the honourable council of the Massachusetts, this 27th Nov. 1690.

P. JOHN WALLEY.

THE land army's failing, the enemy's too timely intelligence, lyeing 3 weeks within 3 days sail of the place, by reason whereof they had opportunity to bring in the whole strength of their country, the shortness of our ammunition

CHAP. provided, and am resolved, by the help of God, on
 II. whom I trust, by force of arms, to revenge all wrongs
 and injuries offered, and bring you under subjection
 to the Crown of England, and when too late, make
 you wish you had accepted of the favor tendered.—
 Your answer positive in an hour, returned with your
 own trumpet, with the return of mine, is required, up-
 on the peril that will ensue.*

THE Summons was delivered to the Count, at the
 Chateau, who was surrounded by the Bishop, Inten-
 dant, and other officers of Government. It was read
 aloud, and enraged the whole Council. The English
 Messenger with the greatest hauteur, pulled out his
 watch, and told the Count that it was ten o'clock, and
 that he could only wait one hour for his answer. This
 peremptory summons, and the manner in which it was
 delivered, threw the Count into a violent passion, but
 after some pause, he delivered the following answer :

I do not acknowledge King William, and I well
 know that the Prince of Orange is an Usurper, who
 has violated the most sacred rights of Blood and Reli-
 gion, in dethroning the King, his Father in law, King
 James II. I acknowledge him as the lawful Sovereign

* Neal's History of New England. Vol. II. p. 89.

late setting out, our long passidge, and many sick in the army, these may be
 reckned as some of the reasons of our disappointment.

SOME question our courage, that wee proceeded no further ; as things were
 circumstanced, others would a questioned our prudence, if wee had ; were it a
 fault, it was the act of a council of warr ; wee must undergoe the censures of
 many : In the mean time, our consciences doe not accuse us, neither are we most,
 yea almost all, of us, afraid or ashamed to answer our actions, before any that
 can or shall call us to an account for the same, nor unwilling to give any farther
 satisfaction to any reasonable men that shall desire it.

Boston, the 27th Nov. 1690.

JOHN WALLEY.

of England. Sir William Phipps ought not to be surprized at the hostilities committed by the French and their allies, as he might well expect, that the King, my master, having received the King of England, under his protection, would order me to declare war against those people, who have revolted against their lawful Sovereign. How could he suppose, that had he even offered me better terms, and that I had been disposed to have acceded to them, that so many brave men, would either have consented or advised me to place confidence in the word of a man, who has violated the capitulation made with the Governor of Acadia, who has wanted fidelity to his Prince, who has forgot the favors that have been conferred on him, to follow the fortunes of a stranger, who wishes to persuade the nation, that he is the Saviour of England and Defender of the Faith, though he has violated the Laws and privileges of the Kingdom, and overturned the Church of England : this conduct, the Divine Justice, to which Phipps appeals, will one day severely punish.”*

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THE Count, who delivered the answer, *viva voce*, was requested by the English Messenger, to reduce it in writing. The Count absolutely refused the request, adding : “ I’ll answer your Master by the mouth of my cannon, that he may learn that a man of my rank is not to be summoned in this manner.”

ON the return of the Messenger, Sir William Phipps called a Council of War, when it was determined to attack the City. On the eighth of October, the troops, amounting to thirteen hundred men, under the com-

* Charlevoix. Vol. II. p. 80.

CHAP. II. mand of Major Walley, landed at La Canardiere, and advanced with great spirit towards the River Saint Charles,† where the Count Frontenac had posted a body of Militia, consisting of three hundred men. An engagement ensued. The Canadians leapt from one rock to another, and kept up a constant skirmishing all around the English, who, unacquainted with the ground, remained together, and the Canadians advancing against the close files of the English, they sustained a considerable loss ; they however, encamped near the scene of action. The next day, early in the morning, they arranged themselves in order for battle ; about noon they began to move, directing their march towards the Town, having platoons on their wings, and some Savages as an advanced guard; they proceeded in good order, with six Field Pieces, along the borders of the Saint Charles, until they were intercepted by two hundred volunteers, when they retreated to some brushwood. During this action Mr. Frontenac advanced in person, at the head of three battalions, and having arranged them on the borders of the Saint Charles, he resolved to cross it, if the volunteers should be too hard pressed. Mr. Villeu, who had obtained from Frontenac a small detachment of men, sat out before the English left their encampment, and was followed by several other parties. After various skirmishing between the two armies, the English abandoned the idea of attacking the city by Land. And it was at length determined that the Army should embark without loss of time. In the mean time the Ships approached the city, and on the same day, cannonaded it with all their force. The Batteries, however,

† The River Saint Charles was called, *Coubat Coubat* by the Natives from its windings and meanderings.

of the Town, were well served, and the Rear Admiral not being able to keep his station off the Sault-au-Matlot, dropped down, beyond the reach of the cannon of the city, followed by the other two Admirals, who from the fire of the French Batteries, could not keep their stations. The Flag of the Rear Admiral was shot away, and drifting towards the shore, several Canadians swam after it, and when brought on shore, it was hung up in the Parish Church, as a Trophy.

SIR William finding that neither the fire from his Ships, nor the efforts of his Army had made any impression, resolved to return to New England. Sir William with a greatest part of his Fleet, arrived at Boston on the nineteenth of November, but some of his Ships were driven to the West Indies, several foundered, and one was driven on the Island of Anticosti. The vessel that struck on the Island of Anticosti, was commanded by Captain Rainsford, who had with him sixty men; when the Ship struck, they had only time to land their provisions before the vessel sunk. The Captain and his men finding that they should be obliged to winter on the Island, built a Store House and several Huts to shelter themselves from the cold, with planks of the wreck: as they were short of provisions, they agreed each man's allowance to be two biscuits, half a pound of pork, half a pound of flour, one pint and a quarter of pease, and two small fish, per week. It was not long before the dismal effects of hunger and cold began to appear among them, for on the twentieth of December their Surgeon died, and after him, forty men in a

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few weeks, and though they were all convinced of the necessity of keeping to their allowance, unless they would at last eat each other, yet their Store Houses were frequently broken open. An Irishman once got to the provisions, and eat no less than eighteen biscuits, which swelled him to such a degree, that he was in great pain, and was near bursting. On the twenty-fifth of March, five of the company resolved to venture out to sea in their skiff, which they lengthened out so far as to make a sort of cabin for two or three men, and having procured a sail, they shipped their share of provisions on board, and steered away for Boston. It was on the ninth of May before these poor wretches arrived there, through a thousand dangers from the Sea and Ice, and almost starved with hunger and cold : upon their arrival, a vessel was immediately dispatched away to the Island, and brought off the few unfortunate wretches that had been left behind. Sir William, in his representation to King William, declares that he did not lose more than thirty men. The Baron de la Fontaine, who was then at Quebec, observes :—" That the New England Men did not want courage, but wanted military discipline : that Sir William Phipps' conduct was so bad, that he could not have done less had he been hired by the French to stand still, with his hands in his pockets : that if they had come directly against the Town, it would have surrendered, that they were dilatory in their consultations at a distance, which gave time to reinforce the place with Regular Troops, Militia, and Savages, and that he did damage to the Town to the value of five or six Pistoles."—The neglect in the preparations for the advancing of the land army, and too late sailing of the

fleet, were considered as the causes of the failure of a well concerted plan.

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II.


THE Government of the Massachusetts's Colony were totally unprepared for the return of their forces; they not only presumed on their success, but on finding a sufficient treasure to bear the charges of the Expedition; the soldiers were upon the point of mutiny for want of their wages. As it was impracticable to raise the money, the Government being greatly reduced, they were obliged to have recourse to the issuing Bills of Credit, which were the first ever issued on the Continent of America, as a substitute in the place of money.†

THE conduct of the Militia was highly approved of by the Governor, and they were thanked for their services in public orders. The Count, in his letters to the Government in France, did not fail to express his sentiments of their distinguished conduct, and his Majesty, to hand down to posterity the gallant defence of the City, ordered a Medal ‡ to be struck, to perpetuate that event. The French fleet, which had put into the Saguenay on the news of the English Squadron being in the River, and which had remained there undiscovered, at length arrived, to the no small satisfaction of the Inhabitants, as much apprehension had been enter-

† Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 402.—Barbadoes was the first that followed the example. Their Bills sunk so low that the Island was in confusion, and they soon abolished them. The project of a Land Bank in England, in the Reign of King William, which entirely failed, was taken from this expedient of New England.

‡ The Medal struck in France had this Legend, *Francia in Novo orbe Victrix—Kebeca Liberata*, A. D. M. D. C. X. C.

CHAP. II. tained for their safety. Though they brought a supply of provision, yet, so great was the distress for provisions, occasioned by the late incursions of the Five Nations, who had prevented the inhabitants from sowing their grain, that the Count ordered the Soldiers to be cantoned in the Country, only upon those that were best able to supply them. The Inhabitants, though much distressed themselves, received them without murmuring, and chearfully alleviated their wants.

THE
HISTORY
OF
CANADA.

CHAPTER III.

From the Year 1690, to the Appointment of the Marquis de Vaudreuil as Governor, in the Year 1703.

WHILE the New England Forces had gone on the 1692, Expedition to this Country, and the event uncertain, the Five Nations pretended to be disposed to Peace, but when they were informed that the Expedition had failed, they renewed their wonted hostility. Several parties, and in different directions, made incursions into the Country, and particularly in the vicinity of Montreal, carrying desolation and horror where ever they went.

CHAP. THE Count to punish the Five Nations, sent Mr. de
 III. Beaucourt, with three hundred men, into their Country. After a fatiguing march over the snow, bearing their provisions on their backs, they met about eighty of the Indians, near the Isthmus at Niagara. These commenced an attack on the French party, who bravely defended themselves, and cut off the greater part belonging to the Five Nations. In revenge for which, the Five Nations sent a number of parties, to obstruct the passage of the French through Lake Ontario, and the river issuing out of it, and cut off their communication with the Western Indians. An Indian, called *Black Kettle*, commanded in these incursions, and his successes during the whole summer, so exasperated the Count, that he ordered a prisoner to be burnt alive. The bravery of this Indian, was as extraordinary as his torments were cruel. He sung his military achievements, while he suffered the greatest barbarities. His feet were broiled on burning coals, his fingers were thrust into red hot pipes, his joints were cut, and his sinews twisted with bars of heated iron. His scalp was then ripped off, and hot sand was poured into the wound.

THOUGH the Colony, by the wisdom and activity of the Count, was placed in a situation to despise both the threats of the English and attacks of the Five Nations, yet, there were enemies in the Colony, who jealous of his talents and virtues, endeavored to tarnish his glory. There were, that complained that in order to preserve the esteem of the officers of the Regular Troops, the whole weight of the war was thrown on the Militia; that the latter were ruined by *Corvées*, while the Soldiers were allowed to work and were paid: that owing to

the Inhabitants, being thus employed, the Colony neither acquired strength, nor was Commerce promoted; and that his allowing the Trade of Brandy, and Spirits, had been attended with fatal consequences, both to the Indians themselves, and to the King's Subjects. Those complaints were on a representation to the King, but little regarded. The King, sensible of the value of his services, and mindful of his late meritorious conduct, in defence of the Capital, resolved to continue him in the command, fully persuaded, that from his good conduct and activity, the most important services were to be expected.

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III.

THE Count, after various applications to the Five Nations, could not bring about an accommodation. The Governor of New York, who found it so much his interest to keep alive their hatred, fomented their animosity, and promoted their designs of invading the Colony. Frontenac, to punish them for the neglect of his terms of accommodation, collected an army, composed of Regulars, Militia and Indians, amounting to seven hundred men. These troops left Montreal, on the twenty-fifth of January, one thousand six hundred and ninety three, and proceeded to the Mohawks Country, where they arrived on the fifteenth of February. They attacked two of the Indian Castles, which were taken with little or no opposition. The party then pushed on to the third Castle, in which was posted a considerable number of Mohawks, who, on being attacked, defended them-

1693.

1693. The Court of Justice Royale was established at Montreal, by the King's Edict, registered in the Superior Council at Quebec. It was a Court Civil and Criminal.—Officers—A Lieutenant General, a Lieutenant Particulier, an Attorney for the King, a Greffier or Clerk of Appointment of the Saint Sulpicians.

CHAP. III. selves with great bravery, but ultimately was compelled to submit. They had twenty men killed, and two hundred and fifty were made prisoners. The French lost thirty men killed, and forty wounded. As soon as the news of this attack reached Albany, Major Schuyler, with five hundred men, including Indians, advanced to the Mohawks Country, in hopes of coming up with the French party. He overtook them on their return, and had several skirmishes, which were generally in his favor. At length the French party arrived at Montreal on the seventeenth of March, having suffered much from fatigue, and from a scanty allowance of provisions. From the prisoners that had been taken, they learnt, that the English at Boston, were concerting measures for another attack on Canada. They mentioned that the plan was already matured, and that while three thousand men should penetrate by the way of the Lakes, a strong naval armament, should ascend the River. This information could not but alarm the Count, and induced him to take the necessary precautions ; he put the capital in a state of security, and augmented the fortifications at Chambly, Sorel and Montreal. Several scouts were sent into New England, to discover what measures were taking, and returned with information, that the news brought by the prisoners was perfectly without foundation.

1695. THE Count had no sooner rebuilt the old Fort of Cataraqui, than the Indians of the Five Nations, enraged at his conduct, demanded of Colonel Fletcher, Governor of New York, assistance both of men and cannon. Fletcher, whose attention had long been directed to the Indian affairs, went to Albany, and in a Speech

he made at a Grand Council, blamed the Five Nations for being asleep, and allowing the French to take possession of that place : he then advised them to invest Cataraqui, and to prevent all supplies to that Garrison, as the surest means of reducing it. The Chevalier de Crisasy, who commanded here, sent out several small parties to gain intelligence of the motions of the Five Nations, one of which advanced as far as the River Chouaguen, where they discovered thirty-four canoes, ready for an attack on the Colony, and a larger body of Indians at another place, preparing for war. These parties of Indians in the Summer, landed on the Island of Montreal, and though the Count had been so provident as to place small parties of men, for the defence of the Inhabitants, then engaged in their harvest, yet, great havock was committed, and several persons killed. The Indians then retired. But what was the subject of much alarm was the news from the Commandant of Michillimakinac, that the Indians living near that Post, had nearly concluded a Treaty with the Five Nations, and that the other French allies were on the eve of following their example. The reasons assigned by the Indians for their change of conduct, were : That the Five Nations had shut up the path to Montreal, so that the French could not supply them, and that they had not tasted a drop of spirits for a length of time. The Commandant, to counteract the ill effects of such sentiments, contradicted the assertion, that the French could not supply them, and the better to convince them, ordered the merchandize then in the Fort, to be sold to them at the cheapest rate, assuring them, that great quantities were daily expected from France, which had

CHAP. been probably detained by contrary winds, and that on
 III. their arrival, they should be sold much cheaper than
 ever. He assured them at the same time, that Count Frontenac would never make Peace with the Five Nations, it being his firm resolution, to extirpate them from the face of the Earth.

THE Commandant, to do away the late favorable sentiments of these Nations, and the more effectually to wet up the resentment of the Five Nations against the Michillimakinac Indians, took a prisoner of the former Nation, and put him to the most exquisite torture. The prisoner was fastened to a stake, when a Frenchman began the horrid tragedy, by broiling the flesh of the prisoner, from his toes to his knees, with the red hot barrel of a gun; his example was followed by an Outtawa, who being desirous to outdo the French in their refined cruelty, split a furrow from the prisoner's shoulders to his garter, and filling it with gun powder, set fire to it. This gave him exquisite pain, and raised excessive laughter in his tormentors: when they found his throat so much parched, that he was no longer able to gratify their ears with his howling, they gave him water, to enable him to continue their pleasure longer; but at length his strength failing, the Ottawa flayed his scalp, and threw burning coals on his skull. He began to run, tumbling like a drunken man. They then shut up the way to the East, and made him run Westward, the Country, as they think, of departed miserable souls. He was then knocked on the head with a stone, when every one cut a slice off his body, in order to conclude the tragedy with a feast.

THE Count de Frontenac, in order to secure the tranquility and prosperity of the Colony, conceived it to be the wisest and best course to carry on the war in the Country of the Five Nations, and as far as possible to annihilate by one blow, these troublesome neighbours. To accomplish what he so much wished, great efforts were made in raising men, and providing stores for the army, which was destined to march early in the Summer. Early in June the Count proceeded to Montreal, and found himself at the head of eight hundred Regulars, four battalions of Militia, and five hundred Indians. After a few days delay, the army embarked at La Chine, and encamped on the sixth of July, on the Isle Perrot. As soon as the necessary arrangements were made, the army proceeded up the river in the following order: Two battalions of Regulars, with a body of Indians, commanded by the Chevalier de Callieres led the Van, with two field pieces, mortars, the necessary ammunition, and provisions. Four battalions of Militia, and a body of Volunteers composed the Centre, under the command of the Count, after which followed two battalions of Regulars and Indians, with the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, who brought up the Rear. After twelve days journey, they landed at Cataraqui, where they remained several days, in hopes of a reinforcement of Outtawas, and French Traders. As it was of the utmost importance to push on with rapidity, the Count proceeded across Lake Ontario, and landed on the twenty-eighth of July at Oswego. Fifty men were ordered to march on each side of the Onandaga River to prevent a surprize, the army moving on slowly after them. Af-

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CHAP. ter marching some distance, they came to a tree on
 III. which was painted the number of the French Army,
 by the side of which was placed two bundles of cut
 rushes, to signify according to their manner, that they
 defied the French, and that they had fourteen hundred
 men ready to meet them. The French army then
 passed the Onandaga Lake, and having formed them-
 selves in order of battle, the better to deceive the In-
 dians, the two wings took a circuit round the borders
 of it: the engineer, Le Vasseur, that accompanied the
 Count, then marked out a Fort, where the Provisions
 and Batteaux were deposited, and with a guard of one
 hundred men. A Seneca Indian, who had been out
 as a scout, apprized the Onandagas of the near ap-
 proach of the French. It had been their determinati-
 on to have defended their Castles, but when they were
 informed of the strength of the French Army, and of
 the nature of the mortars they had brought with them,
 which, if they fell on their Castles, would burst, and
 bury them in the ruins, they instantly set fire to their
 village, and retired to the woods. The French by this
 time came up, and finding no enemy, were idle specta-
 tors of the burning of a few miserable huts. The
 Oneydoes, more to amuse, than determined to make
 Peace, on the fifth of August, sent a messenger with
 a Belt to assure the Count, that his Nation was desirous
 of Peace, and wished to live on the best terms with
 the French: The Count answered, that he sincerely
 wished Peace with them, and that it should be conclu-
 ded, on condition, however, that those Oneydoes, who
 had left Canada, should return and settle in the Colony,
 as he was to be no longer amused with idle negotiations.
 The Count, to add weight to his proposition, and to con-

vince them of his ability to punish them in case of resistance, sent forward the Marquis de Vaudreuil with a detachment of six hundred men, to the Oneydoe Village, with orders, in case of resistance, to put every Indian to the sword. The Oneydoes did not wait the approach of the detachment, but fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind an old Sachem of one hundred years of age. He was delivered over to the Indians, belonging to the French party, who put him to the torture, which he bore, with more than manly presence of mind. To one who stabbed him with a knife. “ You had better, (said he) make me die by fire, that these French dogs may learn to suffer like men. You Indians, you dog of dogs think of me, when you are in a like condition.” Never perhaps was a man treated with more cruelty, nor did any man bear it with more magnanimity and resolution,* In a Council of war, which was called on the ninth of August, it was resolved to destroy the Seneca Tribe and to leave a considerable French force in the Country during the Winter ; on the evening of the same day to the astonishment of the whole army, the Count relinquished his former plan and marched with the army for Montreal, where it arrived on the twentieth of August, having only lost six men, during the whole March. The Count was in hopes that the late incursion, would dispose them to peace, and to increase their distress, and to harrass them the more, as soon as the Troops had recovered from their fatigue, large parties were sent into their Country, to prevent supplies of provisions being sent to them, and of which they were in the greatest want. The Five Nations, to convince the Count that

* Charlevoix, Vol. II. p. 173.

CHAP. they were still unsubdued, sent several parties into
 III. Canada, one of which advanced near to Montreal,
 where meeting a small French force, an action commenced, in which the French were routed, and the Commanding Officer and several were killed; as soon as Mr. de Callieres was informed of their approach, Captain de Repentigni and several men, went in pursuit of them; they were soon come up with, and the French losing their Captain, they were routed by the Indians of the Five Nations.

1697. IT was at that time, that the Count received dispatches from the Government of France, ordering him to keep in readiness the Troops he then had in the Colony, as the Ministry had lately received intelligence that a Fleet from England was near its departure for Boston, where it was supposed that it was to be joined by another, destined for an attack on Canada. He was ordered to have from one to two thousand men ready, to execute any other orders he might receive. On the receipt of these dispatches, the Count immediately exerted himself to put Quebec in the best possible state of defence, and assembled the Staff of the Garrison, to whom he communicated the substance of the intelligence he had received, observing at the same time, that in case the English should not attempt the Expedition expected, that it was his orders that the Troops in Garrison, should hold themselves in readiness to undertake any other enterprize his Majesty might be pleased to order. Detachments of the Regular Troops were ordered from Montreal, to repair the Fortifications, assisted by the Inhabitants of the surrounding Country, who were ordered into the City for this work, and victualled

by the Citizens of Quebec. Owing to the vigilance and indefatigable labour of the Governor, little or no apprehensions were entertained of the armament, and to prevent the English from procuring any supplies, in case they should attempt to land down the River, he gave strict orders to the Inhabitants on the shores, to drive all their cattle into the interior part of the Country. In order to be apprized of the motions of the Inhabitants of the English Colonies, he sent out several parties to procure intelligence. Mr. de Bellestre, who had the command of one of them, advanced within a few miles of Albany, where he beat a party of Mohawks, and from whom he learnt, that the Colonies, so far from making any preparations for carrying on an offensive war, were fortifying themselves, under apprehensions of incursions from Canada.

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THIS year was distinguished not only on account of the continued hostility of the Five Nations, to the French, but also by a general and destructive warfare between several Nations inhabiting near the Great Lakes. The Scioux had made war on the Miamis, and these were attacked by the Sauteurs. *Le Baron*, the famous Indian Chief of Michillimakinac, had never heartily joined the French interest, and had removed with several of his Countrymen to reside among the Miamis, the better to keep up a communication with the Five Nations, to whom he was much attached. To the Senecas he sent nineteen Belts, and a message, which strongly shews his aversion to the French. “ The French have for many years confounded our resolutions, and have deceived us, but we are now determined to thwart all their artifices by stopping our ears. The

CHAP. Commandant of Michillimakinac has told us many
 III. lies : he has betrayed us, and made us kill each other,
 but we are firmly resolved never to hearken to him again." To conceal the Treaty with the Five Nations, that he had made, and to do away any ill impressions that might be suggested against him, he arrived at Quebec, and in a speech he made to the Count, he expressed the warmest attachment to the French interest, and his utter aversion to the Five Nations. The Count, who had been long acquainted with his character, placed but little confidence in a man, whose conduct had been distinguished for duplicity and unsteadiness.

THE Count, in consequence of the orders he had received from the Ministry, collected all the Troops he had in the Colony, and only waited for instructions from Government to carry the orders into execution : The Expedition that had been meditated was a mystery to him, until the arrival of Mr. des Ursins, on the seventh of September at Quebec. This Officer brought him a letter from the Marquis de Nesmond, who informed him, that the Conquest of New England * had been projected by Mr. de Pontchartrain, but that it had been laid aside. The Count observed in his letter to the Ministry, that such Expeditions were very doubtful, and required more time than is generally given on such subjects ; that little dependance was to be put on the junction of Troops, some coming by Sea, others by Land, and particularly on those who are obliged to navigate the difficult Rivers of Canada, where the transportation of provisions by boats, for a considerable ex-

* Charlevoix, Vol. II. p. 216.

pedition, was almost impracticable. With respect to the reduction of New York, he conceived it a measure of importance to the safety of the Colony, as the Five Nations, not being supported by the English, would no longer be a terror to Canada. That while the King's Ships were employed in attacking that City, the troops from Canada, might cause a diversion by way of the Lakes and invest Albany; but, that before such a design could be carried into execution, sufficient time should be given for the necessary preparations in a Country, where the season is so short, that by the month of October, the small Rivers and Lakes are obstructed by Ice.

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By a vessel from France, in the course of the Autumn, the Count received the New Ordinance which restricted Officers and Soldiers in the Upper Posts from trading with the Indians, under very severe penalties: They were also extended to the Voyageurs or Traders, with strict orders to the Commandants of Posts to seize them, in order that they might be brought to punishment. The Count, far from wishing to carry into execution, orders which had excited murmurs and discontent, contented himself with a Remonstrance to the Government, which was disapproved by the Ministry, and produced the following letter from Mr. Pontchartrain.

“ His Majesty is highly pleased with your activity in the dispositions you made to join the Marquis de Nesmond, had not time prevented the execution of the orders he had received. I have paid attention to

CHAP. what you have mentioned, respecting the suppressi-
 III. on of Licences: you will permit me to observe, that
 you have given too much confidence to those persons,
 who from a principle of gain, have encouraged the
 Indian Trade. If you had attended to the inconve-
 niencies that it has produced, you would have more
 readily disapproved of this mischievous practice.

It has been represented to you, that our Indian
 Allies would join the Five Nations, unless we trade
 with them in the interior of their Country: I am
 much at a loss to conceive the reason of it, as it ap-
 pears to me, that the contrary effect might be ex-
 pected, particularly if it is explained to the Indians,
 that His Majesty's sole object, is the supplying them
 with merchandize at their first cost, allowing them
 full liberty to sell their furs, and to procure to themselves
 the profits arising from the Trade with the far distant
 Indians.

You are too well acquainted with the history of
 Canada, not to know, that the wars we have carried
 on for so many years against the Five Nations, with
 so much expence and trouble, was occasioned by a
 desire, that the late Mr. de la Barre had to trade
 with the far distant Indian Nations. The Indians
 who are at present the Allies of the English, would
 not long preserve their alliance, if they should pass
 their Country, and traded with Nations, far beyond
 them.*”

THIS letter had no other effect than the publication

* Charlevoix, Vol. II. p. 222

of the Ordinance, and as the Posts in the Indian Country were still kept up, the Indian Trade was, as formerly, carried on.

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THE Treaty of Ryswick, which was concluded on the eleventh of September, being earlier known at New York than in Canada, the Five Nations under the protection of it, went out to hunt near Cataraqui. The Count conceived the present moment as the most favorable to take revenge, and sent out a French force, with several Algonquins, to attack them. *Black Kettle*, a famous Onandaga Chief, with forty warriors, had not been long on the hunting grounds, when they were attacked, defeated, and several of them killed, and among the slain was numbered *Black Kettle*, their noted Chief. After he was mortally wounded, he cried out : “ Must I who have made the whole Earth tremble before me, now die by the hands of Children.”*

THE Count soon after, received a letter from Lord Bellomont, the Governor of New York, notifying him, that Peace had been concluded, in the following letter. 1698.

“ His Majesty having been pleased to appoint me Governor of several of his Provinces of America, and among others of New York, I have thought proper, after offering you my respects, to inform you, that Peace has been concluded by the King and his Allies, and his Christian Majesty, the Articles of which, I enclose. Peace was declared at London in October last, but owing to the length of the voyage, it only arrived on the second instant.

* La Potherye, Vol. I. p. 90.—He always despised the Algonquins.

CHAP. I forward this letter by Colonel Schuyler, one of
 III. the Members of his Majesty's Council, accompanied by
 Mr. Dellius, † both Gentlemen of rank and merit, as a mark of esteem for a person of your rank. These Gentlemen, will deliver over to you the French Prisoners that have fallen into the hands of the English of this Province. With respect to those, who are Prisoners with our Indians, I shall give orders that they be set at liberty, as soon as possible, and they shall be escorted by a guard to Montreal, if that shall be thought necessary. I entertain not the least doubt, that you on your part, will give the necessary orders for the release of all his Majesty's Subjects Prisoners with you, as well Christians as Indians, that a good understanding and free Commerce, the general effects of Peace, may be renewed on both sides, agreeably to the harmony that exists between our respective Sovereigns."

THE Count in his answer, observed, that though he had not yet received a confirmation of Peace from the Government of France, yet that he had no objection to deliver up the English and Dutch Prisoners that chose to return. That even during the heat of war, he had been always disposed to exchange of Prisoners, notwithstanding the ill treatment that had been shown to Captain Villier, and the frequent violations of Treaties: that he would no longer suffer Captain Baptiste, the Buccaneer, should be kept in chains, and be treated with so much rigour: that he was at a loss to conceive the reason, why Messrs. Schuyler and Dellius were charged to demand the release of the Indian Prisoners on condition of

† Dated 22d April

restoring the French Prisoners made by them. That the Five Nations had been negotiating a Treaty last Autumn, and as they had left a hostage with him, it was to them that he would address himself: that the Five Nations, had always been Subjects to the French King, even before the English had been in possession of New York: that his orders were peremptory, and that he could not depart from them on any account: that he had taken measures immediately after Peace was announced, to prevent the Indians in Canada from molesting the English Plantations, and had given the same orders to the Canibas and other Indians settled in Acadia: but as the latter were much incensed against the English for retaining several of their people prisoners at Boston, he was apprehensive of the consequences, unless immediate satisfaction was given, and that until this should be done, he could not oblige them to deliver up the English prisoners, as he conceived them perfectly justifiable in retaining them, they having on many occasions released the English, without any exchange of their own people.

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THESE gentlemen, Messieurs Schuyler and Dellius, during their short stay at Quebec, received the utmost politeness and attention from the Count, and with the foregoing answer, returned to New York.

A dispute, however, soon after arose respecting the French prisoners, then in the hands of the Five Nations. The Earl of Bellomont, insisted that the French should receive those prisoners from him, he having ordered those Nations, to bring them to Albany. Frontenac conceived that in doing this, it would be considered,

CHAP. that he acknowledged the Five Nations as subjects of Great
 III. Britain, and therefore refused to receive them, threatening at the same time, a continuance of war, with the Indians, unless they delivered up the prisoners at Montreal. A message was sent them by several Caghnauwagas, to this effect, and to tell them that all the French Indian allies were to be included in the Treaty now about to be made. To this demand, however, the Five Nations, declared, that though they were disposed to Peace, yet that they would not consent to include some of the French Indian allies, and that they were determined on revenge for the injuries they had received from the Outawas. Nothing could give more anxiety to this nation, than the determination, they had just heard. They were tired of war, and hoped to be included in the general peace. In this dilemma, they addressed themselves to the Count for protection, he assured them that he would never sacrifice them, and in no case would he make peace, unless they were included in it, declaring at the same time, that if the Five Nations did not change their conduct, he would immediately declare war against them.

As soon as Lord Bellomont was apprized of what had passed at Montreal, he wrote the Count the following Letter ;—

“ I am this moment arrived from the Frontiers, where I have had a meeting with the Five Nations, called by you, *Iroquois*. They have requested with great earnestness to be continued under the King’s protection, protesting at the same time, their subjection and fidelity to his Majesty. They have complained of the outrages that the French and Indians of Canada, have committed on them, contrary to the Treaty of Peace, in which they

considered themselves included in virtue of their fidelity to the King. They have also remonstrated, that your people have carried off ninety-four of their's, since the publication of Peace which astonishes me not a little, as the Five Nations or Iroquois, have always been considered as subjects of the Crown of England, which is manifest to the whole world, and can be proved by authentic and solid documents, which by your letter of the eighth of June last, it would be unnecessary to state as you inform me, that you cannot depart from your instructions until you receive new ones. You cannot but know, that the incursions and hostilities, that your people have made upon our Indians, before the last war, was the principal cause of the late war between the King my master and France, which is stated in the declaration, and I am, therefore, the more surprised, that you should think of continuing it, as it is a manifest breach of that Treaty.

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THE King my master, thank God, has too great a knowledge and penetration and of too generous a disposition to renounce his just rights, and I have his interest too much at heart, to suffer the smallest insult to be offered by your people to our Indians, nor can I permit them to be treated as enemies. I have given them orders to be on their guard, and in case they are attacked, to put both French and Indians to the Sword, having furnished them with all the necessary supplies.

To convince you what little value the Five Nations set on the Jesuits and other Missionaries, they have begged me by repeated requests, to drive them away from among them. Stating to me, how much they had been

CHAP. oppressed by them, and how desirous they were that I
 III. should send Protestant Ministers among them, that they
 might be instructed in the Christian Religion. I have
 acceded to their wishes, and you have acted wisely, in
 ordering your Missionaries no longer to interfere in their
 affairs, as they will suffer the punishment prescribed by
 the Laws of England, and which I shall see enforced as
 often as they fall in my hands, the Indians having pro-
 mised to deliver up all Jesuits, as soon as they are made
 prisoners.

SHOULD you not cease to continue further acts of
 hostilities, you will be answerable for the consequences,
 and the world will decide, which of us is most in the
 wrong, you for having rekindled the war, or I for hav-
 ing defended them against your incursions.

THE Indians expressed a wish to deliver over to me
 all the Prisoners, which number amounted to more than
 one hundred, on condition that I would assure them,
 that you would deliver up those you had in your pos-
 session ; but I did not think proper to consent to this
 request, until I knew your determination. I neverthe-
 less, send four French prisoners, brought by our Indi-
 ans to Albany, and they have my passport to Canada.
 If you should consent to an exchange of Prisoners on
 both sides, you will do well to advise me of it, that I
 may collect together those that are in the hands of the
 Indians.

I have received advice from New England, that sever-
 al of your people have killed two Englishmen, on the
 fifteenth of the last month. These poor people, were ga-

thering in their harvest, and as they thought themselves secure under the Treaty of Peace, it is impossible not to shudder at such dreadful cruelties; and I am sorry to learn, that you offer a reward of fifty Crowns to encourage your allies to the commission of these barbarities. You will not think it amiss, when I inform you, that this conduct appears perfectly contrary to Christianity.

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I was informed two days ago, by the Onandagas, that you had sent two Proselyte Indians, to inform the other Tribes that if they did not come in forty-five days, that you would march at the head of your army to compel them by force. I, on my part, have this day ordered the Lieutenant Governor, to march with the King's Regular Troops, to oppose any hostilities, you may undertake; in case of necessity, I am resolved to arm every man within the limits of my government, to repel your attacks, and to make reprisals for the damages you have done our Indians."

To this spirited letter,* was sent the following answer, by the Count :—

" I should neither have been so long without making my compliments to you, by sending persons of distinction and merit, to thank you for the politeness you have been pleased to show me, by Messrs. Schuyler and Dellius, if the vessels daily looked for from France, had arrived sooner. Their delay is the only reason, that obliges me to put off

* Charlevoix, Vol. II. p. 229.

CHAP. their departure till the next Spring, under the apprehension that as the season is too far advanced, it will not be possible for them to return before the navigation of the Lakes and Rivers, is closed.

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THE dispatches I have received from the Count inform me, of what doubtless you are not ignorant, that the Kings, our masters, have resolved to appoint Commissioners * to regulate the boundaries of those Countries over which their dominion is to extend in these parts.

THUS, Sir, instead of pursuing the conduct you have done, you should have waited the decision of the Commissioners, and not have meddled in a business which had been already begun, and which ought to be considered of a domestic nature, since it is only a Father who endeavours to bring back his Children to their duty, beginning first with lenient measures, but with a firm determination to use severities, if the former should not succeed.

THIS business has no connection with the Treaty of Peace and Friendship, which the Kings our Masters have concluded : and you can take no part in it, without disclosing that so far from being desirous of maintaining a good correspondence, you are seeking for pretexts to destroy the Treaties that have been concluded, unauthorised, in my opinion, by his Britannic Majesty.

* The Count was under an error.—The Treaty made no provision for settling the Limits between the English and French Possessions ; it solely had in view the examination and determination of the controverted Rights and Pretensions to Hudson's Bay.—Smith's History of New York. p. 51.

With respect to myself, in wishing to compel the Five Nations to perform the engagements they made me, before the news of Peace, between the two Crowns was known, and for the performance of which they gave hostages, I only followed the course I had before adopted. But you, Sir, have changed yours, in setting forth claims which are new, and without the least shadow of title or foundation.

You therefore make it necessary that I should inform you that I know full well the sentiments of the Five Nations; that there is not one of them desirous of being under the government of England, and that you want proof to substantiate your right. The proofs we have, and which will be put in the hands of the Commissioners, are so incontrovertible, that I much doubt that any answer can be given to them. I am, therefore, Sir, resolved to continue my former course, and I beg you would not take any steps to thwart my measures, as I assure you they will be useless, notwithstanding your threats of assistance to the Indians, contrary to the Treaty of Peace, which neither occasion much apprehension, nor will they oblige me to abandon my designs. On the contrary, they will excite further exertions notwithstanding any fatal consequences that may ensue. You then, Sir, will have to answer for your conduct, to the King your master, and to Heaven. You were ill informed when you were told, that the French and Indians residing amongst us had committed outrages on the Five Nations. It is true that the Outtawas and Algonquins had given a severe blow to the Onandagas, because that Nation as well as others, had declared that

CHAP. they would not make Peace with them. I have nevertheless reason to think, that if the Five Nations have not brought back the Prisoners they have taken from us, it has been owing to your formal opposition. This, however, will not prevent my acknowledging the kind treatment you have shown the Four French Prisoners you sent me. I was very full in explaining myself with regard to the Indians in Acadia, and I was always apprehensive that if justice was not soon rendered to those of their Nation prisoners at Boston, some enterprize would be undertaken against your Colony. I am extremely sorry to learn that the blow has been given, which will compel me to send them a second order to desist from all future hostility, but I beg you will release their People, with respect to whom you have given me no answer. You will observe that I have used the same candor and freedom you have done."

NOTWITHSTANDING this letter, Lord Bellomont still continued the claim, insisting that the French Prisoners should be delivered up at Albany. While this matter was still controverted, the Count de Frontenac died at Quebec, to the unspeakable regret of the whole Colony. His character has been pourtrayed by Mr. de la Potherye, and with too much justice to be suppressed: The end of the year was fatal to Canada, by the loss of the Count de Frontenac, who died on the twenty-eighth of November, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He had been Governor for seventeen years, and never was a Father of a Country more sincerely regretted. The Clergy honored him for his virtues, and the Noblesse esteemed him for his valour. The Mer-

chant respected him for his equity, and the People loved him for his goodness.*

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ON the death of the Count de Frontenac, † the Chevalier de Callieres assumed the reigns of Government in virtue of his Commission, dated the twentieth of April, one thousand six hundred and ninety-nine, ‡ and the Marquis de Vaudreuil supplied his place in the Government of Montreal. 1699.

WHILE Schuyler was in Canada, it was asserted that he had said in a conversation with Mr. Maricourt, that the Five Nations, were dependent on New York, and were considered, not as Allies but as their Slaves. Maricourt well knew the use and advantages to be made of so imprudent a speech, and immediately addressed himself to an Onandaga Chief, to whom he painted in the most aggravated terms, the wicked and deceitful conduct of the English, who prevented the Peace, by insisting that the prisoners should be sent to Albany, considering them, as their Slaves, and that the sole cause of the dispute between the French and English, was the independence of the Five Nations. Maricourt, had the address to raise their resentment, and a deputation was sent to Albany, to make their complaint known to the Governor of New York. To show how much they were incensed they did not even wait for an answer to the deputation, but resol-

* La Potherie, Vol. IV. p. 110.

† He was buried in the Recollect Church. The following inscription was on the Coffin Plate, when taken up, after the Fire that destroyed that Church and Convent in September 1793: "Cy gyt le Haut et Puissant Seigneur Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, Gouverneur Général de la Nouvelle France, mort à Québec le 28 Novembre, 1698."

‡ Registered at Quebec 14 September. Colony Records.

CHAP. ved to send deputies to Canada, to make peace with the
 III. Chevalier de Callieres, without their consent.

THE Governor of New York met the Sachems at Albany in June, and stated to them, how much these representations had been exaggerated, and that it doubtless would be much more for their interest to be included in a general Peace, than to make a partial one with the French, on whose Faith little dependance could ever be placed. The Governor's Speech made such an impression, that they thought it most for their interest to defer making a Treaty with the French, and with this view, dispatched messengers to recall those that had been sent on this business. These arrived too late, however, to prevent the Treaty, but it had this effect on the deputies, who now saw the policy of being included in the Peace as they had been in the war, and therefore insisted on the exchange of Prisoners at Albany. An end was at length put to this business, by the Chevalier, who consented to send Ambassadors to Onandaga, to treat of the exchange of Prisoners. The Commissioners on the part of Canada were, Messieurs Maricourt, Joncaire and Bruyas the Jesuit. They set out from Montreal, and proceeding up the River, they arrived early in September near one of the Onandaga Castles, where they were received by a considerable number of the Five Nations, who expressed great satisfaction on their arrival. One of the Sachems addressed the Commissioners in the following Speech :

“ We no longer entertain the least doubt of the justice and undisguised sincerity of our Father *Ononthio*,*

* *Grand Ononthio*, was the King of France; *Ononthio*, meant the Governor of Canada.

who has the *Robe Noire*, and our Son, Joncaire. Our Country will now be beautiful, and you will be witnesses to-morrow, of the faith of our Warriors. Repose yourselves after the great fatigues of your journey.”

CHAP.
III.

MARICOURT then presented them with four fathom of Tobacco, and returned the following answer :—

“ WE thank the God of Life and Grace, that he has permitted us to arrive safe in the Country of our Children, and we beg you will accept this Tobacco, as a mark of the high sense we entertain of your civilities towards us.”

THE next morning, the Commissioners were to be received, and advancing within less than a mile of the Onandagas' Castle, a Chief of that nation desired them to halt, that sufficient time might be given, to make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of their reception. Orders were soon after given for them to march in the following manner. At the head of the procession a Frenchman carried a white Flag, then came Maricourt, at a small distance ; after him, Father Bruyas and Joncaire followed, attended by the rest of the Frenchmen, who closed the procession. On arriving at the Gate of the Castle, they were received with marks of the greatest friendship, and complimented with five strings of wampum.

THE first string was intended to signify, that he wiped away their tears for the French blood, that had been spilled in the different wars.

CHAP. BY the second—He opened their mouths, that they
 III. might speak with freedom, and without restraint.

AND by the third—He cleaned the Mat, on which they were to sit, from the blood that had been spilt on both sides.

FATHER Bruyas, the Jesuit, returned them thanks for their friendly reception.

THE procession then passed the Gate, and entering the Fort, there was a general discharge of Musquetry from the Natives of the garrison. After this ceremony was over, they were conducted to the best Wigwam, where a Feast of Venison and ground Indian Corn, was served to them. As the Plenipotentiaries of the Senecas, Cayugas and Oneydoes had not yet arrived, Father Bruyas and Maricourt availed themselves of this circumstance to visit the French prisoners, to whom they communicated the object of their Mission, to release them from Bondage. The Prisoners, so far from expressing a wish to return, declared their intention of spending the remainder of their days with them, as they preferred the Indian mode of life to any other. Nor were these people singular, many instances having happened, after the most pressing solicitations, that persons who have led that life, refusing to return to their families and friends, and only two or three returned in consequence of the great offers that were made them. Such are the charms of an Indian life !!!

As soon as the General Council was convened, Father Bruyas, the Jesuit made the following Speech :

“I am glad to see the Five Nations, and to learn that some of them went to Canada, notwithstanding Corlear* forbid. I am sorry for the loss of your People by the remote Indians, I condole their death, and wipe away their blood with this belt.

CHAP.
III.

THE War Kettle has boiled so long, that it would have scalded all the Five Nations had it continued, but it is now fortunately overset, and turned upside down, and a lasting Peace is made.

I plant the Tree of Peace and Happiness at Onandaga.

KEEP fast the Chain you have made with Corlear, for we now have one heart and one interest with him; but why is Corlear against your corresponding with us; ought we not to converse together when we are at Peace and Friendship?

DELIVER up the French prisoners you have, and we will return, not only your People, but the other prisoners made by our Allies. He then gave a Belt.

I offer myself to live with you at Onandaga, to instruct you in the Christian Religion, and to drive away all sickness, and diseases of every kind out of your Country: and he then gave a Belt.

THIS last Belt is from the Renards or Fox Nation, to desire restitution of Prisoners taken from them.

* Governor of New York.

CHAP. AT the conclusion of his Speech, Bruyas observed :
 III. That he was surprized that Corlear did not communi-
 cate to them what passed between the Governor of Canada and him. “ He keeps you in the dark, while the Governor of Canada conceals nothing from his Children ; nor does the Governor of Canada claim your land, as Corlear does.”

WHILE the Council was deliberating on the answer that was to be given to the French Ambassadors, a Deputy and an Onandaga Chief from Lord Bellomont arrived with a message, desiring them to be on their guard, and cautioned them not to hearken to the French, and that as he had business of importance to communicate, he begged their attendance at Albany in twelve days. This message at first appeared very unfavorable to the French Mission, but these fears were in some measure allayed by a Speech from Decannossora, who said : “ I do not conceive why my Brother does not wish that we should hearken to the voice of our Father, and to smoke the Calumet of Peace ? To improve this spirit of dissatisfaction, the French Commissioners represented to them, that the English treated the Five Nations as their Subjects, and that once under their sujection, every evil was to be expected. They were again pressed on the subject of Peace, with a request that it should be immediately concluded. Nothing more, however, was done, till a few days afterwards, when another Council was assembled at Onandaga, at which was present Lord Bellomont’s Deputy. Decannossora rose, and addressing himself first to the French Commissioners, assured them, that no object was nearer his heart than Peace, and that the Five Nations

wished much to have it concluded. He then turned towards the English Deputy and said :—

CHAP.
III.
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“ As I never do any thing underhandedly, I am glad you are present to know the disposition I am in : you will inform my Brother Corlear, who has sent you, that I am on the eve of my departure for Quebec, to see my Father *Ononthio*, who has planted the Tree of Peace. I shall afterwards proceed to Orange, (Albany) to know my Brother’s pleasure.” With these last words he presented five strings, which Father Bruyas accepted.

WHAT gave sensible pain to the Ambassadors, was, that so far from showing a disposition to accede to the proposition of Father Bruyas, to remain among them, they unanimously declared, that they would hearken to no proposition of the kind, as they had already accepted Corlear’s Belt, by which he engaged to send them Pastors to instruct them.

THE Ambassadors and the Deputies of the Onandaga and Seneca Tribes, left the Country of the Five Nations, and set out on their journey to Canada. The Oneydoes agreed also to send their Deputies, but one of them having been taken ill, they only forwarded a Belt of Wampum. This was discovered afterwards, as a mere pretext for withholding some of the Prisoners. On their way to Montreal, an Onandaga overtook the Ambassadors and Deputies, and told them, that the English Governor was highly incensed against them for proposing to make Peace with the French, contrary to

CHAP. his orders ; that he had seized one of the Oneydoes for  
 III. having killed an Englishman, taken all the Beaver be-  
 longing to the Five Nations, hoisted the Red Flag, as a  
 signal for war, had ordered the Mahingans to com-  
 mence it, and that he would march into their Country  
 in the ensuing Spring to learn them to obey his or-  
 ders.

THIS threat, however, did not prevent them from proceeding on their journey, nor did it put a stop to a Peace so much dreaded by Lord Bellomont. After many days of fatigue, they at length arrived at Montreal, where they were received with public demonstrations of joy. As they entered the city, they were saluted by the great guns of the Garrison. The Allies, of whom there were then a great number in Montreal, were by no means pleased with the reception given to these Deputies. One of them asked : “ What is the occasion of these public rejoicings.” He was answered ; “ That it was in compliment to the Sachems of the Five Nations, who had just arrived.” “ Aye, Aye,” said he, “ Fear makes the French show more respect to their Enemies, than love can make them show to their Friends.”

After a few days, the Chevalier de Callieres informed these Tribes, that he was ready to meet them in Council, and the necessary arrangements being made, the meeting took place immediately after. As soon as the Council was assembled, an Onandaga Chief, in the name of the Five Nations, rose and made the following Speech :

“ My Father, we are again returned, to assure you,



that it is the ardent wish of the Five Nations to make Peace with you. Judge by what I have done as soon as I learnt the arrival of Father Bruyas and our Sons Joncaire and Maricourt at Onandaga.

CHAP.  
III.

Two hundred of my Nephews were in readiness to have made an attack on the Miamis and other Nations who have killed me \* as I have already informed you. I then stopped them, and I assure you, that there are no Allies of *Ononthio* with whom we would have any objection to live, as Brothers.” And he then gave a Belt.

GIVE us an Armourer at Fort Frontenac, that we may have our muskets mended, and let there be a well assorted Store of Goods, that we may exchange our Furs : and he then gave a Belt.

As the most unequivocal proof of a solid and lasting Peace, is a reciprocal restitution of Prisoners, I have brought you many, and I expect from you, the release of those belonging to us, detained by the *Outtawas*, at the Fall and at the Mountain of Montreal. And he then gave a Belt.

I come to secure the Tree of Peace that I have already planted, and I have given it deep root, that it may never be blown down. And he then gave a Belt.

You my Father, and Corlear, my Brother, both must wish that we should enjoy the Peace, which the two *Grand Ononthios* have concluded. Corlear, however, ap-

\* An Indian expression, to signify that their People had been killed.

CHAP. pears to wish to involve us in trouble, but I beg you  
 III. my father, to write to him, to know whether he is in  
 earnest or not : and he then gave a Belt.

THE sixth Belt was intended to express their wishes to the Chevalier de Callieres, that Capt. Louvigni, might be released from his arrest : The Captain, while Commandant of Frontenac had, contrary to the King's orders, traded with the Five Nations ; they were therefore in hopes, that through their influence, he might be released.

HE then presented three Belts of Wampum, on account of a little child of the Five Nations, brought with them, and informed the Governor, that his Uncle was *Master* or Teacher to Joncaire. His Uncle being dead, Joncaire was now his master : That the child was of no small distinction, being allied to those of note among the Onandagas. That they meant to leave him in Canada to learn the French language, that in case Joncaire should die, they hoped *Ononthio* and the Intendant, would take care of him, as they proposed, that he should have the management of their affairs in Canada.

THE Chevalier postponed giving his answer, until the arrival of the Allies of Michillimakinac, when he, a few days after, addressed them in the following language :

“ It is no small pleasure to me, my children, to see you all here, as I have already assured you. I have, also, learnt with satisfaction, the great attention you have paid to Father Bruyas and to Messieurs Maricourt and Joncaire : and he then gave a Belt.

THE attack that has been made on you, from the people from the Upper Country, has been the cause of much grief, and if you had been here sooner, it might not have happened. Your delay has been the occasion of it, and I applaud your conduct in refraining from killing those, that have slain several of your people : and he then gave a Belt.

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III.

I regret exceedingly the loss of so many brave men, that have been killed, and I draw a veil over the dead : and he then gave a Belt.

I take also, your Hatchets and bury them in the earth; I stop the hole, with a large rock, over which, there shall run a stream of water ; who then shall be able to find them ? and he then gave a Belt.

IF any person, shall be so unmindful of his duty, as to commit any act of hostility, come and advertize me of it, that I may compel him to make satisfaction. That, on refusal, I may join those who have been injured, and be revenged. I shall inform Corlear, that he too, may join in punishing those that shall break the Peace, concluded between two *Grand Ononthios*, according to your wishes : and he then gave a Belt.

I hold fast the Tree of Peace which you have planted : and he then gave a Belt.

As a strong proof of my wish, to give you entire satisfaction, and to do away every doubt of the sincerity of my intentions, I will accede to your desire, of having an Armourer at Fort Frontenac, and I will lose no time,

CHAP. in forwarding there, such merchandize, as may be necessary for your present wants, until I know his Majesty's pleasure thereon. And he then gave a Belt.

THE release of the French Prisoners, has been the subject of great joy to me, I shall immediately write to the Outtawas, to release the Prisoners they have, that they may be down by the month of August, of the ensuing year. I invite you, all to come for them, and bring with you, all the French and other prisoners of our Allies, and particularly *La Gonkine*, who is now with the Cayugas. As to the Indians at the Sault, and at the Mountain, speak to them, the door is open for their return to their own Country. And he then gave a Belt.

I shall take good care of Achonchondi, who is the Nephew of Joncaire, according to your desire. And he then gave a Belt.

WITH respect to the Commandant of Frontenac, you shall have another. And he then gave a Belt."

WHEN the Chevalier had finished the foregoing speech, *Le Rat*, a Deputy and one of the Huron Chiefs, spoke as follows :

" I have always been obedient to my Father, and I bury the Hatchet at his feet. I have no doubt, that all the distant Nations will do the same.

THE Deputies of the four Outtawa Nations, spoke to the same effect.

THE Abenaki Deputies, observed : “ That they had no other Hatchet, than that of their Fathers, and that they had buried it.” To which sentiments, the Deputies of the praying Indians earnestly expressed their acquiescence, and approbation. After which the Treaty of Peace was signed \* by the Chevalier de Callieres and these Deputies.

CHAP.  
III.

As soon as this Peace was concluded, the Chevalier de Callieres informed the Ministry of France that the present time ought to be improved, to ruin the English interest with the Five Nations. He expressed a wish, that if the French Government could not obtain an advantageous arrangement of the Boundaries of the French and English Colonies, at least the whole Country of the Five Nations should be declared Neutral Ground, and that both Nations should be restricted as to building Forts or making any Settlements among them : He also proposed the leaving them to their choice as to spiritual affairs, under the persuasion, that they would prefer Catholic to Protestant Ministers.

THE Peace, however, which had been so lately concluded, was but of a short duration : No sooner had the Deputies of the Five Nations returned to their own Country, than they learnt, that a party of the Outtawas had fallen on a small number of their People, had killed several, and taken one of their Chiefs, prisoner. The occasion of this attack was owing to this circumstance :

1701.

\* Eighth September, 1700.—The Population this year (1700) amounted to 15,000 Souls. La Pothery, Vol. I. p. 369.

CHAP. The party of the Five Nations had been out hunting on  
 III. the grounds usually frequented by the Outtawas, and  
 had destroyed several Huts in which they had deposited  
 their Beaver. The Outtawas, as soon as they were apprized of this conduct, considered it as an act of hostility, and determined on revenge, which was carried into effect, by the foregoing attack.

As the Five Nations had promised by the late Treaty that they would in no case take arms without previous information being given to the Governor of Canada, they sent Deputies to Montreal, to represent the great injuries they had suffered from the Outtawas. On their arrival on the second of March, they were admitted to a Council, when they represented to Mr. de Callieres the injuries they had received. "There is no doubt," said they, "some madman was the cause of this outrage; but since the Nation does not disavow the act, it is to be supposed that they authorized it." And since you desired that we should address ourselves to you, in case of such accidents, we beg you would restore to us our Chief who has been carried to Michillimakinac." They justified the conduct of the Hunters. The Governor General, to allay their resentment, assured them, that the Outtawas had not been apprised of the Treaty of last Autumn: that he would procure the release of their Chief, and that their interests should be always attended to. While these assurances appeased their anger and satisfied their Deputies, another Deputation arrived, repeating their former complaints, on account of the hostility committed during the Winter, and desiring to know, whether it was true that the French meant to make a Settlement at Detroit. The Chevalier gave

the same answer that he had done to the first Deputies, and that with regard to Detroit, that Settlement could not be opposed either by the Five Nations or the English, as Detroit belonged to the French. That his object in taking possession of it was with a view to preserve Peace and Tranquility among all the Nations, and that positive orders had been given to that effect ; “ as for me,” said the Governor, “ I am master in my Government, but only with a view of promoting the happiness of my Children. It is to promote it that I have taken possession of Detroit, and I am persuaded, that one day or other thanks will be given me for having executed it.”

CHAP.  
III.

JEGANISSOREUS, one of the Deputies, observed, that as soon as he had made his report to the Sachems, that they would give the earliest intelligence of what he said to the English, and that he hoped if the two Nations were plunged into a war, that the Five Nations, might not be compelled to take any share in it. “ I am indifferent,” said the Governor, “ whether my design at Detroit is known or not to the English. I am persuaded, that so far from approving it, they will do every thing within their power to oppose it. All I have to request of you is, that you will remain quiet spectators as to what may pass between us.”

THE want of an Hospital at Three Rivers, for the reception of the Inhabitants and sick Soldiers had been severely felt, and Representations were made by the Bishop, for the establishment of so useful an Institution, to the King of France ; who directed, that his Royal Letters Patent should issue, for the foundation of so necessary an Establishment.—The Hotel Dieu was put un-

1702.

CHAP. der the government of the Bishop, and to be served by  
 III. the Nuns of the Convent.\*

AT length at a meeting of the Deputies of the Five Nations and of these of the Indians of the North West, a mutual restoration of Prisoners took place, and Peace between them all was finally concluded at Montreal.

IT was no sooner known in Canada that War had been declared † between England and France, than the Chevalier de Callieres, apprehensive that the English Government would direct their attacks against the French Settlements in America, by exciting the Five Nations to break the Peace that had been concluded, and to commit hostilities against the Colony, early perceived the necessity of undertaking the most vigorous measures to disconcert the views of the English, who in addition to the Militia Forces already raised, had detached several Indian Nations from their alliance, who were now joined with them. To counteract these measures, he represented to the Court of France: That it  
 1703. was necessary for the preservation of the Colony, that Troops should be sent over, and that the Fortifications should be put in the best possible state of repair. But while the Chevalier was employed in measures for the safety of the Colony, he died on the twenty-sixth May seventeen hundred and three at Quebec, ‡ very much regretted by the whole Country.

\* Colony Records.

† Queen Anne's Declaration of War against France and Spain was dated the 4th May, 1702.

‡ He was buried in the Recollect Church.—On the Coffin plate—Cy gyst Haut et Puissant Seigneur, Hector de Callieres, Chevalier de Saint Louis, Gouverneur et Lieutenant Général de la Nouvelle France, décédé le 26 Mai, 1703.

1703. Religious Communities prohibited from Purchases, beyond a fixed extent.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
CANADA.

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CHAPTER IV.

*From the year 1703, to the appointment of the Marquis de Beaharnois as Governor General, in 1726.*

THE Marquis de Vaudreuil, succeeded the Chevalier de Callieres in the Government, by Commission dated on the first of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and three, \* and Beauharnois succeeded Champigny as Intendant. The Marquis had so much approved of the wisdom of the steps taken by his predecessor, that he determined to follow them, and took the earliest opportunity of gaining over the Five Nations to the French

\* Registered at Quebec, 2d September,—Colony Records.

CHAP. Interest. He had abundant reason to applaud his own  
 IV. activity, for soon after this, a deputation of the Onan-  
 dagas arrived, and made the following Speech :

“ WE have never communicated to any person what I am now about to inform you : until this moment we have always considered ourselves as the sole proprietors of our Lands, and for that reason we had always determined to remain quiet spectators to what might pass between you and the English. But here is a Belt, that I present to you under ground, that you may be informed, that we give you the absolute right to our Country. Therefore, my Father, should any unfortunate circumstance happen to us, or should we stand in need of your assistance, look on us as your Children, and put us in a condition to support the step we take this day. With respect to the French Missionaries, you may be assured, that I will sooner perish, than permit them to leave my Tribe.”\*

THIS Speech had just been delivered, when Jeganisoreus arrived, and spoke as follows :

“ THE Europeans are a mischievous People. They no sooner conclude a Peace, than the most trifling circumstance induces them to take up the Hatchet. We do not act in this manner, and great must be the provocation to induce us to break the Peace we have concluded.” He gave the Marquis assurances that his Tribe would take no part in the war between the two Nations ; being determined to preserve the strictest neutrality.

\* One or two of the Tribes had admitted Missionaries.

NOTHING could afford more satisfaction, as the Marquis entertained greater apprehensions, from this Tribe, than any other of the Five Nations.

CHAP.  
IV.

As the Abenaki Indians still professed their ancient attachment for the French, and were not to be drawn into the war, though they were solicited by the Governor of New England to join the English, they applied to the Marquis for assistance, in case the English Governor in resentment, might invade their Country. The Marquis, aware of the policy of keeping these people in their old attachment, sent them two hundred and fifty men, under the command of Mr. Rouville. They had scarcely arrived in their Country, when the English, hearing of their approach, advanced to meet them: an action immediately ensued, in which the English were routed, many of their men killed, and one hundred and fifty were carried in captivity.

THOUGH the Five Nations were disposed not to give umbrage either to the French or English, by preserving a strict neutrality, yet they wished to become mediators between the Governors of both Provinces. The Marquis, who had been early apprized of this plan, conceived it proper to advise the Court of France of what had passed at the late meeting at Montreal. The Minister in answer, informed the Marquis that if a war against them should not be attended with very extraordi-

1704.

1704. Royal order eighth of June. Proceedings in civil causes before the Sovereign Council regulated.—Attorney General to give his conclusions *Viva Voce*. The President and Judges to consult apart from him.—If process is in writing, Mr. Attorney to give written conclusions and retire.—In a case of moment he may speak again *Viva Voce* and retire.—His written conclusions to be part of the Proceedings in the cause.—Colony Records.

CHAP.  
IV.

nary expences, he wished him to accede to the propositions made by the Five Nations ; but if on the other hand, danger might arise from this conduct, in that case, a neutrality with respect to America, was an object of much importance ; that it by no means comported with his Majesty's honor, that the Governor should make the first advances, nor accept the mediation of the Five Nations solely, but at the desire of the other Indian Nations, conjointly.

THE Minister conceived it of much importance that the Missionaries should impress them with the idea, that the French by no means wished to trouble the Peace of their Country, that though the Governor might prosecute the war with vigour, yet that he preferred the tranquility of Canada to every other consideration ; and that if the Five Nations could compel the English to request a Neutrality for both Provinces, the Marquis would lend an ear to the proposition, without however making any immediate arrangements, until the King's pleasure should be first known on the subject.

To convince the Five Nations how much the Government of France was disposed to remain on friendly terms with them, a fortunate circumstance happened to prove the sincerity of its amicable disposition towards them. A party of Outtawas had captured several Indians belonging to the Five Nations near Cataraqui; on being released, and on their return home, they passed Detroit, and offered such insults to the Garrison of that place, that the Commandant ordered twenty men to attack them. After a short resistance the Indians were routed, and the prisoners that had been taken, were delivered up to the Senecas then on their return home.

THE Bishop of Quebec, Mr. Saint Vallier, who had been in France on a visit, was anxious to return to Canada. He applied this Summer, for a conveyance for himself and several Ecclesiastics who had expressed a desire to visit this Country. The King provided a Ship called, La Seine, on board of which they embarked. They had however proceeded but a few days on their voyage, when they were captured by an English cruizer, and carried to England. The deplorable situation of the French Protestants then in the Gallies in France, had excited the commisseration of the English Nation, and the House of Lords,\* in hopes of getting them released, presented an Address to Queen Anne, humbly praying that in exchange for the Bishop of Quebec and the Ecclesiastics that had been taken, she would have regard to the French Protestants in the Gallies. The Queen in her answer expressed the same compassion for these unfortunate people, promised to comply with the desire of the House, and to do all that was in her power to have it effected.

MR. DUDLEY, Governor of Massachusetts, proposed an exchange of Prisoners by Mr. Livingston, who was the Bearer of his Propositions. The Marquis de Vaudreuil informed Mr. Livingston, that on his return to Boston, he would send an officer with him who would convey to Mr. Dudley the terms on which he would treat. The French Envoy, Mr. Courtemanche, was charged to represent to the English Governor, that no exchange of English Prisoners could take place, but on

\* Journals of the House of Lords of the Parliament of England, 10th November, 1704. 3 Anne.

CHAP. the condition that all the French and their Indian Allies  
 IV. should be delivered up to the Governor of Acadia, and further, that assurances should be given, that those Prisoners that had been sent either to Europe or to the West Indies, should be set at liberty.

THE Governor of New England by no means approved of these terms: he therefore lengthened out the negociation, and declared at the same time, that no measures could be finally taken, until he had consulted the Governors of the other Provinces. The Marquis plainly discovered, that the object of Mr. Dudley was merely to gain time, and resolved on the further prosecution of the War, by making incursions in New England. Though the Five Nations had released their Prisoners, as well as the Outtawas, yet they now demanded satisfaction for those that had been killed in a late action, by them. This the Outtawas were by no means induced to grant, and serious apprehensions were entertained least the war would again recommence between these Nations. To prevent them from coming to extremities, the Marquis ordered Mr. Louvigni to go to Michilimakinac, and to represent to that Nation, the necessity of delivering up the Prisoners they then had belonging to the Five Nations.

CAPTAIN LOUVIGNY's entreaties happily prevailed, and several of them were brought to Montreal. The Marquis on their arrival, apprized the Five Nations of this circumstance, and begged them to attend, as he expected a considerable number of Outtawa Chiefs, who would probably wish a conference with them. These Chiefs not arriving, as was expected; the Depu-

ties of the Five Nations were dismissed, but before their departure, they represented to the Marquis, that nothing less than their high respect for him could have induced them to have waited so long for the reparation due them from the Ottawas, with a request, that the Marquis would declare war against them, for having been the first to violate the Peace,

CHAP.  
IV.

THE Marquis observed in his answer, That the Treaty did not compel him to take arms in any case, unless satisfaction could not be obtained from those that had given the offence, that many of the Prisoners were already released; and observed that they doubtless would comply with whatever else was reasonable and proper,

THE Deputies were no sooner embarked, than advice was brought, that Mr. De Vincennes, was arrived with the Ottawas, who remained at the end of the Island of Montreal, uncertain what reception they would meet with from the Marquis. They were desired to repair to Montreal, and as soon as the Deputies of the Five Nations were relanded, both were admitted to an audience,

THE Ottawas were sensible of the outrage they had committed, and endeavoured to palliate their fault, "My Father," said one of them "in acknowledging our aggression, we must confess you have been also injured. Pardon, we beseech you, the inconsiderate conduct of those now left without judgment by the death of their Chiefs. You are justly intitled to take the severest revenge, but should you pardon our offence, you shall have no reason to regret your clemency. As long as

CHAP. we live, our gratitude shall not be wanting, and from  
 IV. this moment, we are disposed to make such satisfaction  
 to those we have offended, as you shall think proper to  
 point out."

AFTER which the Chief addressed himself to the Deputies of the Five Nations, who, overcome by these sentiments of contrition, an opportunity was offered to bring about a reconciliation of these ancient enemies. The Ottawas engaged also to restore a number equal to those that had been killed, but to show the little confidence that was to be placed in their assurances, they were a whole year without conforming to the condition they had agreed to, which so much incensed the Five Nations, that they were on the eve of declaring war, which was only prevented by the prudent conduct of the Marquis, who sent an Agent to them, assuring them, that no measures on his part should be left untried for the faithful execution of the promise made by the Ottawas. With this assurance they buried the Hatchet, and the Marquis by his perseverance compelled the Ottawas to a punctual discharge of their pacific assurances.

MR. RAUDOT \* who had been appointed on the first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and five, Intendant, in the place of Mr. de Beauharnois † the Intendant, early apprized of the litigious spirit of the Canadians, so much to the detriment of the cultivation and settlement of the Colony, as well as to the in-

\* His Son was joined with him in the Commission : but he was not to serve, but in the absence of his Father.

† The Intendant's powers were enlarged, he had an exclusive authority and sovereign cognizance, where the Levy and Receipt of Royal Rights were affected in cases civil as well as criminal.



terest of their families, took the necessary steps to shorten the course of proceedings in the Courts, and deciding, in many cases in a summary manner, he prevented the continuance of those animosities, that are inseparably connected with protracted law suits, and in many instances, he settled their disputes in an amicable manner.

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HE proposed to the Government of France, to permit the inhabitants of the Colony to manufacture coarse linens, as they raised considerable quantities of Flax and Hemp, French manufactures being so dear, that the poorer classes of people were almost without cloathing. The design was approved of by the Government, and it was urged on the Colony to attend to the raising of Hemp, and to the Fisheries, as objects of great national importance. At this period, the Commerce of the Colony was inconsiderable. About thirty vessels arrived annually from France, whose tonnage amounted to nine thousand tons. Five or six small vessels were employed in the Seal Fishery in the Gulf, and three or four traded to the West Indies for Coffee, Sugar and other produce of those Islands. 1706.

MR. RIVERIN, an active and intelligent man, as early as one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven, had solicited the Ministry of France, to aid a design of establishing a Whale and Cod Fishery in the River Saint Lawrence; He stated to the Government the advantages to be derived from a Settlement at Mont Louis, at the Mouth of a small River of sufficient depth for vessels of a hundred tons, and sheltered from every danger.

1706. Le Sieur De Chambault Lieutenant Governor of Montreal on the death of Mr. Juchereau.

CHAP. IV. The Fishery was better there than elsewhere, the shore more advantageous for drying the Fish, and the lands about it by no means unfriendly to cultivation. However highly the Government approved the design, no assistance was given from that Quarter, and Mr. Riverin was obliged to look for support elsewhere. A Company at length was formed, and their success for two years equalled their highest expectations; but when least expected, Riverin was deserted by the Members of this Association, and unfortunately connecting himself with two gentlemen of Paris; who not finding the Fishery as valuable as they first conjectured, nor the Fur Trade as profitable as they expected, abandoned the design in one thousand seven hundred, to the ruin of Riverin, carrying off all the articles they had supplied, as an indemnification for the money they had advanced.

WAR was again renewed between the Outtawas and Miamis, and several of the former were killed in an action, near Detroit. As no satisfaction was offered by the latter, the Outtawas applied to the Commandant of that Post, who promised that justice should be done them. Mr. de la Motte Cadillac soon after left Detroit for Quebec, without procuring the satisfaction he had promised them. This conduct induced them to suppose that the French were not displeased with what had happened, and that they had in view the punishing them for the attack they had made on a party of the Five Nations at Cataraqui, by which they had infringed the Treaty of Peace.

MR. TONTI, who had been left in the command of the Garrison, in Cadillac's absence, was now relieved by

Mr. Bourgmont. The Outtawas addressed themselves to him, and begged to know what news he brought respecting their affairs. He told them he knew of none, except that Cadillac would return in the ensuing Spring with a considerable force. This information did not fail to excite their apprehensions and left little room to doubt that measures were in a train to punish them with severity.

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BOURGMONT, availed himself of every circumstance to dispel their fears, and proposed to them to join with the Miamis, Confederates and Hurons, against the Scioux. They declined the proposition under an idea that he sought an opportunity of carrying them out to war, the better to betray them in the snare he had laid. As their suspicions instead of diminishing daily encreased, they resolved on revenge, but to prevent any idea of their designs against the Miamis, they proposed to declare, that the preparations they were then making, were only designed against another nation. As soon as the arrangements for the expedition were made, the Chiefs before their departure went to the Fort, and asked the Commandant, whether he had lately received any news from Quebec or Montreal? The officer so far from attending to them, would not hear them, which did not fail to excite their indignation and resentment. Another circumstance happened, which places the inhumanity of the French officer in the most detestable point of light: A Dog having bit one of the Chiefs, in the French interest, that attended the meeting: He beat the poor Indian to whom the dog belonged so unmercifully, that he died the next day. The Outtawas swore among themselves, they would be revenged for this violence, and to carry on the de-

CHAP. ception, they set out on their march, a few days after,  
 IV. against the Scioux. They had not been long gone,  
 when they met a party of the Miamis, of whom they  
 killed five ; only one being able to save himself, by running into the Garrison : Crying out—*The Outtawas are killing us.* As soon as this circumstance was known in the Village, the rest of the Miamis, took refuge in the Fort, pursued by the Outtawas, many of whom were killed by the Guns of the Garrison. It was generally supposed, that much bloodshed would have been the consequence of this conduct, but fortunately for both parties, instead of revenging themselves on each other, both returned to their several Villages in peace and quietness. The news of this affair had scarcely arrived at Quebec, when a deputation of the Five Nations, made their appearance, with a declaration to the Governor, that the Miamis were resolved on revenge on the Outtawas, who had broken the Peace, and had forfeited the good opinion that they had once entertained of them. The Marquis, whose situation at this time, was very delicate and critical, assumed a proper tone of authority, declaring that he would never permit them to declare war against the Outtawas, without his consent. The firm manner in which he spoke, had the effect of restraining them, and evinced that though the English had much influence over them, yet that his authority was little inferior to theirs.

WITH respect to the late conduct of the Outtawas, he thought it by far the wisest course to temporize with them, lest the Fur Trade might be injured by an open rupture. It was not till after this, that a Chief of that Nation arrived to make his excuses for the unfortu-

nate affair that had happened : But when Mr. de Vaudreuil, had seriously reflected, that by temporizing with them, they might be emboldened to commit other excesses, he was resolved not entirely to overlook their conduct, he therefore ordered all the French, residing at Michillimakinac, to return in the Colony, with a hope, that this mark of his resentment, would produce a division among them, and would be the means of the guilty being given up to justice. He desired Cadillac to resume his command at Detroit, to take no part in the quarrel, but to wait events, until the return of a Messenger he had sent to the Five Nations.

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1707.

THE Outtawas in the Spring arrived at Montreal. *Jean Le Blanc*, one of the Chiefs, related what had happened at Detroit : He assured the Marquis that he had incontestable proof, that it was the firm intention of the Miamis, as soon as they marched against the Scioux, to have murdered the men and women belonging to his Nation. He complained, that though he had frequently waited on Mr. Bourgmont to make an apology for what had happened, yet that he would neither give them an audience nor accept of their Belt of Beaver. He then added :

“ AND finally, my Father, I am here at your feet. You well know that I am not the most guilty. You are not ignorant how much disposed I have always been to do my duty, until this unfortunate day. It cannot be necessary to inform you, that I am the son of one of the greatest of the Indians of the Upper Country, who sought out for the French from the middle of the Woods. I now present you with my own

CHAP. head. I present you with Prisoners, to revive the dead. I  
 IV. offer you the sincere respect of your Children. What  
 can I do more? I however, perceive, that you will not  
 be satisfied, unless *Le Pesant* is delivered up to you,  
 who is the only one that is guilty. That is impossible, as  
 the consequence would be an attack from all those  
 Nations to which he is at present allied."

THE Marquis in his answer, insisted upon the delivery of *Le Pesant*. That all the Nations knew the guilt of the Outtawas, and as the injury had been done at Detroit, it was there that the reparation was to be made, and that they must return there and perform what he should desire. He refused to receive their Belt, and sent Mr. de Saint Pierre with them. On their arrival, Mr. Cadillac frankly told them, that they must expect no pardon, until they surrendered *Le Pesant*.

MR. CADILLAC's firmness on this occasion convinced them of the necessity of complying with his orders. They early sought out *Le Pesant* and brought him to Detroit. They indulged a hope, that the alacrity with which they had complied with the Commandant's order, would be the means of saving *Le Pesant*, nor were they mistaken; the Commandant was no sooner asked for his release, than he consented. This act of generosity, however, was attended with consequences of the most disastrous nature.

As soon as the Miamis were informed of what had happened, and that there was no prospect of satisfaction notwithstanding Cadillac's former promise that *Le Pesant* should be given up to them instead of the French, they determined to take revenge. A small party who

had been out, met with two Frenchmen on their way up the Country whom they tomahawked and mangled in the most cruel manner, and committed depredations under the guns of the Garrison.

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THESE hostile dispositions, in conjunction with the information he had received, that the Five Nations Hurons and Outtawas had determined to fall on the Garrison of Detroit, induced him, for his own safety, to declare war against these Nations ; but to the surprize of every one, he immediately patched up an accommodation as little honorable to himself as to the Nation which he served.

THE pusillanimity of the Commandant in this Truce, was too apparent to escape their notice, and convinced them that it had been concluded through a sense of fear. The Miamis availed themselves of it, and no longer considering themselves bound by the Treaty, they renewed their depredations. Cadillac, who at length perceived the folly he had committed, resolved on revenge for the infraction of the Treaty, and collecting his Troops, he marched against the Miamis with four hundred men. Having routed a large party of them, they sued for Peace, and promised to comply with any conditions he thought proper to propose.

HOWEVER successful Joncaire was, in preserving the Five Nations in their observance of the Treaty of Peace, and in retaining them in obedience to the French interest, the Governor of New York was no less fortunate, in seducing the Praying Indians of the Sault Saint Lou.

CHAP. is, many of whom quitted that Settlement, and removed  
 IV. with their families to the Province of New York.

THE Catholic Clergy, had long been dissatisfied with the regulation established by the Superior Council, which gave them only one twenty-sixth of the produce by way of Tythes, and they made a Representation to the King of France, in the hope, that His Majesty might be induced to fix the Tythes at one thirteenth; but their Appeal to the King produced a Decree, which stopped their pretensions on this point. Beside the sum of seven thousand six hundred livres, which the King had assigned, as a Supplement to the Tythes, His Majesty granted one thousand seven hundred livres to those, whose great age and infirmities prevented them from serving their Parishes, and by a decree this sum was divided in portions of three hundred livres each, and one of two hundred livres.\*

1708. WHILE these transactions took place, an expedition was planned at Montreal, against the New England settlements. This army, which amounted to four hundred men, was under the command of Messieurs de Chaillons and Hertel de Rouville, and the Indians, were put under the command of Mr. de la Perriere. To conceal the object of the expedition, it was resolved, that one division of the army, was to march by the way of the Saint Francis, and the other, to proceed by the way of Lake Champlain, to meet at Lake Nikisipiqui, where it had been settled that the Eastern Indians should join them. Notwithstanding that it was of the highest importance, that no time should be lost, after the resolution had been taken,



yet so great were the difficulties that the army only left Montreal, on the twenty-sixth day of July. The division by the way of Saint Francis, was soon deserted by the Huron Indians, nor was the other division more fortunate in retaining the Indians of the Mountain of Montreal, who having lost a few men by sickness, resolved to return home.

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NOTWITHSTANDING this defection, the Marquis sent orders to the several detachments, to proceed on without delay ; after a long march of many days, both divisions arrived at the rendez-vous on the borders of Lake Nikisipiqui, where they expected a reinforcement of Eastern Indians : This Nation, however, could not have given them any assistance, being themselves engaged in war, with another Nation of Indians. The French army pushed on to the attack of a Village, called Haverhill, in which was posted fifty Soldiers, sent by the Governor of New England, in consequence of the information of the approach of a French force. The Village was attacked at day break, on the twenty-ninth day of August, was well defended by the small party of Troops and by the Inhabitants ; at length overpowered by numbers, the French took possession of it, having killed not less than one hundred men, and carried several into captivity. The French, on their return were pursued, and overtaken just as they were entering the woods. An action ensued which lasted about an hour, when the English were defeated and several were killed. The French loss, amounted only to eight men killed, and eighteen wounded, among the slain, were two officers, Hertel de Chambly, Rouville's brother, and Vercheres.

CHAP. THE Marquis, sent a Messenger to the Governor of  
 IV. New York, to express his surprise, that while he was  
 desirous of preserving the Peace with the Five Nations,  
 no less advantageous to New York than to Canada, that  
 he should make propositions to them to infringe their  
 neutrality, by taking up arms against Canada. He com-  
 plained, that the Governor had lately built a Fort in the  
 Mohawk's Country, and that he had endeavoured to  
 debauch the Indians settled in the Province.

THE messenger returned with the following answer:  
 "With respect to the Belt I sent to the Indians, to pre-  
 vent them from joining you, in the expedition against  
 the Government of New England, I must acknowledge  
 that, I was induced to it, from motives of Christian  
 Charity. I conceived it a duty, I owed to God and  
 man, to prevent as much as possible, those horrid bar-  
 barities, which have been too often exercised upon the  
 unhappy people of that Government.

You will pardon me, Sir, when I inform you, that  
 my heart bleeds, at the thought that a war between two  
 Christian Princes, acknowledging the laws of honor and  
 generosity, of which their ancestors have given so ma-  
 ny examples, should have degenerated into that savage  
 barbarity, that has no bounds. I have no idea, that the  
 war can terminate by such means, and I only wish all  
 the world thought on the subject as I do."

HOWEVER desirous the Governors of both Provinces,  
 might have been, to put a stop to these barbarities, yet  
 the horrors that had been committed, for fifty years and  
 more, by the Savages on both sides, had exasperated

their minds to such a pitch of resentment, that when-  
 ever either was victorious, the most unheard of cruelties  
 were exercised on the vanquished ; this conduct laid  
 the foundation of eternal enmity, and both parties car-  
 ried their animosities to such lengths, as never to have  
 in view any thing less, than the entire extermination of  
 each other.

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A design against Canada, was this year, meditated by 1709.  
 the English Northern Colonies. Colonel Vetch, who  
 had been several years at Quebec, was the chief project-  
 or of this enterprize. The ministry of England ap-  
 proved of it, and Vetch went to Boston, to prevail  
 with the New England Colonies to join in the scheme ;  
 It was determined by the Queen of England, that a squad-  
 ron of ships, should be at Boston, by the middle of  
 May, that five Regiments of regular Troops, should be  
 sent from England, to be joined by twelve hundred men,  
 to be raised by Massachusetts and Rhode Island Pro-  
 vinces, and the several Governments, were to provide  
 Transports, flat bottomed Boats, Pilots and three months  
 Provisions. With this force, Quebec was to be attack-  
 ed by Sea, while fifteen hundred men, were to be raised  
 in the Governments, South of Rhode Island, to march  
 by the way of Lake Champlain to attack Montreal. Ge-  
 neral Nicholson, was appointed Commander in Chief,  
 he was to march with his forces, as far as Wood Creek,  
 there to wait, and from thence he was to proceed to  
 Quebec in order that the attack in both places might  
 be made at the same time. No intelligence arriving  
 from England in September, Vetch and Nicholson, con-  
 ceiving it too late in the Season to proceed on, they re-  
 tired to Newport in Rhode Island, where there was held

CHAP. a meeting of the Governors of the several Colonies, to  
 IV. consider in what other way, the forces should be employed ; at length a vessel arrived from England with advice, that the Troops intended for America, were sent to Portugal, and no assistance being any longer expected, the Provincial Troops were disbanded, and returned to their cantonments.

THE Marquis had early intelligence of these movements, and had called a Council of war, when it was determined, that a body of Troops should march towards Lake Champlain, to check the approach of the English, and the remaining Troops and Militia, were to be thrown into Quebec, in case of an attack by Sea : Mr. de Ramsay the Governor of Montreal, made an offer of his services and after some demur on the part of Mr. de Vaudreuil, he was approved of, and took the command of fifteen hundred men, to proceed and watch the motions of the English. Every previous arrangement, having been made by the Marquis, he returned to Quebec, to hasten the Fortifications, and laid an Embargo on the Shipping on the eve of their departure for France.

DE RAMSAY, with his detachment of fifteen hundred men left Montreal on the twenty-eighth of July, and in the course of three days advanced forty leagues towards the English Camp. On the return of de Ramsay's scouts, it was reported, that the English army consisting of five thousand men, were at no great distance, and strongly entrenched. This information intimidated not only the French part of the army, but the Indians, who expressed apprehensions of proceeding farther, declaring at the same time, that it appeared most advi-

sable not to penetrate into the Enemy's Country, but to return to the out posts of the Province, and wait to receive the English there. A Council of War was called, and after due deliberation, it was determined to return back to Canada. About the end of September, the Marquis had advice of the retreat of the English troops from the Lake, and that nothing would be attempted by the River, which induced him to dismiss the Indians and Canadians, and the King's troops were sent into Winter Quarters.

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THE Colony of New York, much dispirited at the late unfortunate expedition, and deeply impressed with the necessity of attacking Canada, highly approved of Colonel Schuyler's plan, who went to England with two Sachems, to represent to Queen Anne, how much the English Colonies had been disappointed at the non arrival of the Fleet that had been promised; and that it was of the utmost importance, both for His Majesty's interest and the security of the Colonies, that Canada should be reduced. 1710.

THE Queen was pleased with the design, and an expedition was resolved on; but though a considerable Fleet under the command of Lord Shannon, was appointed for this service, it was thought best only to attack Port Royal, leaving Canada till the next year, and that of course so large a force would not be required. The Dragon and Falmouth sailed from England with several Transports, and brought Nicholson back to

1710. Mr. Begon was appointed Intendant, with the same powers that had been given to Mr. Raudot. Not registered until 12th October, 1712.

CHAP. Boston. As soon as the necessary arrangements were  
 IV. made, the Fleet sailed in September for Port Royal.  
 The French Garrison at that place was so badly supplied with provisions, and in so defenceless a state, that though the Garrison behaved with great bravery, yet Mr. Subercase the Governor, was compelled, after a short siege, to offer terms of Capitulation, which being accepted by Nicholson, the troops took possession of Port Royal on the twenty-second of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ten. On the twentieth day of December, Mr. Livingston and the Baron de Saint Castin arrived at Quebec, with the Articles of Capitulation of Port Royal.\* Animated by this success, Nicholson again urged the prosecution of the scheme for the reduction of Canada, and was so far successful, that an armament was ordered the next year.

EARLY in the Spring of this year a Fever of the most malignant and epidemical kind broke out at Quebec, and generally throughout the Country. It was called, the Purple Fever, and so destructive was it, that thousands died in the course of a few days.

1711. IN June Nicholson arrived at Boston, with the news that a Fleet might soon be expected from England, with the Queen's orders, that the several Governments of New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania should have their respective quotas in immediate readiness for the expedition, In a little more than a month after the arrival of the Fleet, the new Levies and the necessary Provisions were in readiness. On the thirtieth of July the whole armament sailed from Boston,

\* Jesuit's Journal.

for Canada. It consisted of fifteen men of war, twelve directly from England, to which were added three more that had been stationed in America, forty transports, six store ships and a train of artillery, with all kinds of warlike Stores. The Land Army on board consisted of five regiments from England and Flanders, and two regiments raised in the Colonies, amounting to near seven thousand men. The Fleet was commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker, and the Army by Brigadier Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham the Queen's favorite. The Land Force was about equal to that which under General Wolfe afterwards reduced Quebec, though at that time it was not half so strong as when it was reduced by that intrepid and experienced General. Upon the same day on which the Fleet sailed from Boston, General Nicholson began his journey for Albany, where, a few days after, he appeared at the head of four thousand Provincials.

THE Manifesto of Sir Hovenden Walker and General Hill, was translated into the French Language and committed to Major Livingston, in order to be dispersed among the Canadians \* importing that the Queen of Great Britain's Right and Title to North America, being indisputably sure by priority of discovery, and possession, and acknowledged such even by the most Christian King, as appeared by the grants and concessions of some parts

\* Major Livingston with two Indians, took several of these Manifestoes with him for distribution, before the fleet sailed. And he was directed to conceal himself in the woods near Quebec to discover the preparations that were making by the French, and on the fleet's approach up the river, to go on board, and give an account of what he had observed to the General and Admiral.

CHAP. thereof to his most Christian Majesty, from the Crown  
 IV. of Great Britain. The detail of all which, would be  
 too tedious to insert in this short Manifesto.

THAT it cannot be imagined, either in nature or reason, that such grants and concessions should be given only for people to settle as enemies to, and disturbers of the Peace of the natural liege subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, but rather that such lands, and territories should be held in the nature of fiefs, and by a feudatory title.

THAT contrary to the nature of such tenures, as also to the articles of a Treaty of Neutrality stipulated and agreed to, between the Crown of Great Britain and the most Christian King, to be observed by the English and French in America, (notwithstanding a war should happen to break out between the Crown of Great Britain, and the most Christian King in Europe;) the French had committed several Hostilities against the subjects of the Kings and Queens of Great Britain, therefore those lands and territories, so possessed by the French, do, according to the laws of nature and nations, of right revert to the Crown of Great Britain, where they originally were; it becomes lawful for her Majesty of Great Britain, although there were no actual war between her Majesty and the most Christian King, to resume them.

THAT from the continual complaints of her Majesty of Great Britain's subjects, of the unheard of and barbarous cruelties excited and acted by the French, in concert with the Indians, against her Majesty's said subjects, as does most notoriously appear by a recompense



of forty livres, per scalp given, has justly deserved her Majesty's resentment and relief unto her said oppressed subjects. CHAP.  
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THAT, for want of proper and convenient opportunities for so doing, her Majesty's Royal Predecessors, have not hitherto undertaken to repossess themselves of those forfeited lands and territories : Yet now, with a most pious intent for preserving for the future a perpetual and lasting peace in North America, and preventing the many unjust ravages and murders made and committed amongst the Subjects inhabiting those parts, Her Majesty had resolved (under the assistance and protection of Almighty God,) to recover all those said forfeited Lands and Territories, and appoint her own Governors in all those several Territories, Cities, Towns, Castles and Fortifications where His Most Christian Majesty had pretended to settle.

THAT though the French now inhabiting those parts might either out of ignorance or obstinacy be induced by persons of malignant and turbulent spirits, to resist Her Majesty's so good design, she had thought fit, in reliance upon the blessing of God, upon her so pious and religious purposes and endeavours, to send such a strength as might, by divine assistance, be sufficient to force a compliance, and reduce all opposers, to reason.

THAT out of a tender regard to their welfare and repose, they had thought fit to declare in a most solemn manner, that all such of the French Inhabitants in Canada, the Cities, Towns and Villages thereof, who shall willingly put themselves under the protection, and

CHAP. submit to the Laws and Government of Her Majesty of  
 IV. Great Britain, and be found remaining upon their respective habitations and places, without any diminution of their Stocks and Harvest, shall be kindly received and treated, and be preserved and continued, they and their heirs, in the quiet and peaceable possession of their Lands, Houses, Estates, and other effects, properly and *bona fide* belonging to them, and enjoy all the liberties, privileges and immunities, in common with the rest of Her Majesty's natural born Subjects, together with the free exercise of their Religion.

THAT as many others might perhaps be willing rather to return to *France* than live under the easy and indulgent government of *Great Britain*; they did also declare, provided they do not take up arms, or in any wise attempt to resist Her Majesty's Forces, or incite others so to do directly or indirectly, but before any hostilities on either side shall be committed, and will freely surrender themselves to be put on board such ships and vessels as shall be provided for them, with all things necessary to pass into *France*, that they shall have liberty to embark accordingly, and to take with them such effects as shall *bona fide* appear to be their own, and liberty of making sale of any real estate.

THAT the Bishop and all Ecclesiastics, the Fathers of Religious Orders, or Missionaries, who shall use their endeavours to persuade the French to a peaceable submission to the present good and pious designs of her Majesty of Great Britain, they promised, that they or any of them shall find all manner of regard due to their dignities, functions and characters, and in no wise be

treated as enemies, but be provided with Ships, if they please, and all other necessary conveniencies for their passing into France, with such effects as shall appear to be theirs. But if, on the contrary, they shall dissuade the people from accepting these terms offered, then they shall be held as guilty of all the ill consequences that may ensue upon the measures taken to reduce them by force.

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THAT they also declared, that all those who shall take up arms upon pretence of defending any of the said forfeited Territories, Cities, Towns, Castles, or Fortifications, shall be treated as enemies and invaders, and have all their Lands, Houses, and other estates and effects confiscated to the use of Her Majesty, to be disposed of amongst such as shall give any assistance for reducing the said Territories to the obedience of Her Majesty of Great Britain, and any such who shall signalize and distinguish themselves on the occasion for Her Majesty's Service, shall have and receive such other marks of favor as may be, in proportion to the services they render.

THAT after any hostilities shall be committed, they then declared themselves free from all these promises, and that none (except such as come in, or distinguish themselves before hostilities are committed,) shall claim any right to what is herein by them declared ; and they shall then have no further regard than, by the assistance of God, to reduce all that resist, by military force, trusting in the Almighty that he will favour and succeed Her Majesty's arms, in so reasonable, just and religious a design.

CHAP. DURING these transactions, of which the Marquis de  
 IV. Vaudreuil had authentic and early intelligence, no measure appeared more proper than to raise the whole Militia of the Country, that the Province might be put in the best possible state of defence. The works at Quebec were strengthened, and measures were taken to prevent a descent from the Fleet if they should attempt to effect a landing in the Country.

ADMIRAL WALKER arrived in the mouth of the Saint Lawrence on the fourteenth of August, but apprehensive of parting company with the Transports, the wind blowing strong from the North-West, he put into the Bay of Gaspé on the eighteenth, where he continued until the twentieth of the month. On the twenty second, two days after, he sailed from the Bay, the weather, the preceding evening being extremely bad, with a strong wind at east south east and the sky darkened by a thick fog: In this situation, out of sight of land, both the English and French Pilots on board, thought it most expedient to bring the Fleet to in the morning with their heads to the southward, as the best course to keep the middle channel and drive clear of the North shore: At half past ten at night, Captain Paddon, of the Admiral's Ship, perceiving land, which he took to be the south shore, the Admiral ordered a signal to be made, for the Fleet to wear and bring to on the other tack: This had been no sooner done, when the Admiral, perceived that the Fleet was thrown on the north shore, among rocks and islands, where eight Transports had already foundered with eight hundred and eighty-four officers, soldiers and seamen.\* The Ad-

\* Isles aux Œufs or Egg Islands.

Admiral and General, with the rest of the Fleet, were in imminent danger but saved themselves by anchoring, and such was the violence of the storm that they lost many anchors. As soon as the Fleet was collected, the Admiral sailed for Spanish River, where the Transports eight days after arrived, when it was determined by the Council of war, that as they had but ten week's provisions, and were without hopes of supply from New England, before the beginning of November, "That it was for his Majesty's service, that the Squadron and Transports, with the British Troops, do forthwith return to Great Britain, and the Forces raised in New England, to those Colonies."\* Before the Admiral left Spanish River, he erected a Cross, to declare the Queen's right to the Island of Cape Breton, with an Inscription. †

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\* Sir Hovenden Walker's Journal of the Canada Expedition, p. 122, &c.

† Sir Hovenden Walker's Journal, p. 155.

The Inscription on the Cross was this :

I. H. S.

In Nomine

Patris Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

AMEN.

Omnibus in Christo Fidelibus Salutem,

Anna, Dei Gratiâ,

Mag : Britannicæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regina,

Totiusque Americæ Septentrionalis Domina,

Fidei Defensor; &c.

In

Cujus Harum Insularum, vulgo,

Cape Breton,

Proprietatis

et Dominii

Hoc

erexit Monumentum

Suæ Majestatis Servus

et Subditus Fidelissimus

D. Hovenden Walker Eques Auratus

Z

CHAP. THE Fleet sailed on the sixteenth of September, and  
 IV. arrived at Portsmouth in England, on the ninth of Oc-  
 tober following.

As soon as the Marquis de Vaudreuil was informed by the arrival of several Fishing Boats, of the disaster that had befallen the English Fleet, he repaired to Chambly, where he formed a Camp of three thousand men, to oppose Nicholson, should he again attempt to penetrate Canada that way. The scouts that had been sent out to give intelligence of Nicholson's armament, returned a few days after, and brought the glad tidings, that the troops had all returned, on the news of the disaster of the Fleet.

GREAT expectations had been conceived in England, from this expedition; the Whigs censured the new ministry, for their conduct in the management of it. Lord Harley represented the whole to have been a contrivance of Bolinbroke, Moore and Lord Chancellor Harcourt's, to cheat the public, who was pleased to say, "That no Government was worth serving, that would not admit of such Jobs."†

Omnium in Americâ Navium Regalium  
 Præfectus et Thalassiarcha  
 Mense Septembris  
 Anno Salutis,  
 MDCCXI.

† Smith's History of New York.

It may be thought proper to give the reader, a short account of the regulations respecting Grants of Lands, in this Province, under the French Government; By the Arrêt of 4th June 1672, to abridge the former grants, that had too large a front, not settled on the river, Intendant was to take half away and regrant it upon condition, that new grantee settled in four years. No appeal from the Intendant (Talon's) decree. 4th June 1675. A similar Arrêt to Duchesneau, as appears, by Arrêt 9th May 1679, of this year. This orders execu-

THE Treaty of Utrecht, concluded on the thirtieth of March, by the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France, ceded to Great Britain, Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia; orders were sent out to the Governor of Canada, to proclaim the Peace, so much wanted for the happiness and prosperity of the Colony.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1713.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ill success, that attended the unfortunate Mr. de la Salle, the Court of France hearkened to the proposal, of Mr. Iberville, a Canadian gentleman, for a further prosecution of the discovery of Louisiana, in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-nine.

Two vessels, on board of which were Iberville and a

tion of that of 4th June 1675, and 1st. That all grants before 1665, be abridged one fourth. 2d. That after 1680, one twentieth of all uncultivated part be re-granted. 3d. The execution to be by Governor and Intendant, conjointly referring to the joint power of 20th May 1676. By that lands uncultivated were to be improved in six years or forfeited. 31st December 1679. Arrêt to Governor and Intendant (Frontenac and Duchesneau) for reassuming one fourth of unimproved grants and for executing the Arrêt of 4th June 1675. Thus the matter of reunion of unimproved Seignories stood till 1711. Then these prior Arrêts seem to be sunk and provided for. Till 1711, the reunions only respected those of Seignories to the Royal Domain. The subsequent Arrêts of 17th July 1743 and 1st October 1747, seem also to give the rule of proceeding, where the Crown is concerned, and in disputes of limits, between the several Seignories. As to what touches reunions of under concessions, resort must be had to the 2d Arrêt of 6th July 1711. That at first view appears to be a trust to Begon the Intendant of the day. He executed it up to 1725. Dupuy to 1728. Hocquart to 1748 and Bigot to 1755. The Intendant sitting alone on reunions of under concessions, shows that the Arrêts of 1743 and 1747, were considered as relating only to concessions by the Crown. And that the 2d Arrêt of 1711, was not a personal trust to Begon, but stood till revoked to all the subsequent Intendants. By an Arrêt registered in the Superior Council, by the King's order in 1732, the Seignors were prohibited from selling their wood lands (en bois de bout). They were directed to cultivate their lands in two years, or a reunion to the Royal Domain.

CHAP. few Colonists, sailed from la Rochelle and landed them  
 IV. at the mouth of the Mississippi. A few days after his  
 arrival, Iberville ascended the River as far as the Nat-  
 chez, and there built a small Fort. Between this River  
 and Pensacola, by far the most steril part of Florida,  
 he fixed on as the spot for the Settlement of the few  
 Colonists he had brought with him. Finding the lands  
 neither so good as they expected, and the situation in  
 many other respects not desireable, the Colony removed  
 to the banks of the Mobile, and though great exertions  
 were made, it did not prosper. Iberville's activity  
 and energy supported these people in their strug-  
 gles, and his death in one thousand seven hundred  
 and six, could not fail to be a death stroke to their  
 hopes, and at length induced the large body of them to  
 forsake the Settlements they had made. At this period,  
 in one thousand seven hundred and twelve, Mr. Cro-  
 zat, a merchant of immense fortune, and eagerly intent  
 on the acquisition of riches, entertained the idea that the  
 opening a communication by sea and land with New  
 Mexico, by which an exchange of French Merchandize  
 for the Gold and Silver of that Country, was the  
 surest and most speedy course to increase his wealth.  
 To favor these views, he made an application to the  
 Court of France, and with little intercession, obtained  
 for fifteen years an exclusive Trade in the whole extent  
 of Louisiana. Crozat was not long in possession of  
 what he had too highly valued ; as much dispirited and  
 disappointed as he had been formerly elated at the pros-  
 pect of gain, he gladly resigned his privilege into the  
 hands of a Company, whose success in the year one  
 thousand seven hundred and seventeen, astonished the



world.\* Louisiana continued to belong to France until the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, when the Eastern part of it was ceded to Great Britain. Notwithstanding the large imports of goods from France, so inconsiderable were the exports and remittances, that both together did not exceed the sum of twenty-eight thousand four hundred and thirty-seven pounds ten shillings Halifax currency. The Beaver or Western Company was created, for twenty-five years. This Company had the monopoly of all Beaver. The average value of the exported Furs amounted to one hundred and forty thousand pounds Sterling. The Governor in order to ascertain the number of inhabitants, directed a census to be taken, and by the return there appeared to be in the Colony, twenty thousand souls.

CHAP.  
IV.

1714.

To people and strengthen the Colony, had long been an object of Vaudreuil's serious attention, and at length he drew up a plan, which he transmitted to France, in which he gave an account of the number of the Inhabitants, and means of augmenting its population. He stated that Canada had no more than four thousand four hundred and eighty Inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, from the age of fourteen to sixty years, and that the twenty-eight companies of marine, in the King's service, amounted only to six hundred and twenty soldiers, and that this small number of persons were spread over an extent of country of more than one hundred leagues. That the King's troops could easily be com-

\* Abbé Raynal, Vol. VIII. p. 162.

1714. Mr. de Tonnancour was Lieutenant Governor of Three Rivers.

CHAP. pleted, out of the regiments that had been disbanded in  
 IV. France. That though the population was not great in the  
 Provinces of France and that the exhausted state of the  
 Finances did not admit of making large advances, for  
 conveying new Colonists to America, he proposed  
 that as every year a considerable number of Criminals,  
 were condemned to the Gallies, that at least one hun-  
 dred and fifty of them, should, annually, be transported  
 to Canada, by the Farmers General.

1717. THE negligence with which the Papers and Mi-  
 nutes of the Notaries of the Colony had been kept, in-  
 duced the Governor to represent to the Government  
 of France, the necessity of regulations on such an im-  
 portant subject. A royal declaration was this year issu-  
 ed for regulating the Offices of Notaries, by which it was  
 directed, That their minutes should be annually col-  
 lected and bound up in bundles. That their Offices  
 should be visited annually, by the Attorney General or  
 Signorial Treasurers, with Procès Verbal of their con-  
 dition. That the Judges should list papers of deceased  
 Notaries, at the instance of the Attorney General or  
 Signorial Treasurers, and remove them, to the Office  
 of the Clerks of the Jurisdiction. That the Clerk should  
 be obliged to give a copy of the list to the Heirs of the  
 deceased, and half of the Fees for copies for five years.  
 By another declaration of the fourth of January, one  
 thousand seven hundred and twenty four, it was direct-  
 ed, That the disposition of the papers of deprived No-  
 taries as of deceased Notaries, should be filed in the  
 Clerk's office. And by another declaration of the sixth  
 of May, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three,  
 the Notaries were ordered to keep possession of their

Minutes and Acts. In land sales, they were directed to insert the nature of them, whether held *en fief* or *censive*. To name the Seigneur and the deeds to him or to the Crown. To adhere to the law forms and to comply with the directions for the inspections ordained by the former declarations \* The want of Regulations to correct the abuses that the Notaries of the Colony had committed, had been sensibly felt for many years. The property of the inhabitants was often put under the controul of men, who either from ignorance of their profession, or from wicked motives, committed many acts of injustice and oppression.

CHAP.  
IV.

Ginseng a plant that the Chinese collect from Corea and Tartary, and which they hold in the highest estimation, was discovered this year in the Forests of this Country by Lafitau, a Jesuit ; it was highly prized in China, and was there sold at a great price. This demand occasioned a rise in that article at Quebec, which on its first discovery had been only worth one shilling and eight pence per pound, but was afterwards purchased as high as one pound and ten pence Halifax, currency per pound. In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two, so great was the quantity exported from this country, that the value exceeded twenty thousand pounds. The Canadians unfortunately, however, collected this plant in the month of May instead of the month of September, and dried it in ovens instead of placing it in the shade and drying it by degrees. This sort of preparation lessened its value in China, the only Country in which this article was in demand. So that the avidity of the inhabit-

\* Colony Records. /

CHAP. IV. ants occasioned the loss of a Commerce which would have been, if well conducted, the source of considerable wealth to the Country.

1720. THE fortifications of the City of Quebec, that had been commenced by the two Engineers, Le Vasseur and Beaucourt were discontinued, as the plan of Mr. de Léry the Engineer, had been sent to the Court of France, and was thought superior to what had been proposed by the former gentlemen. de Léry's plan for the Fortifications was approved of, and commenced early in the Spring of this year.

To commemorate the commencement of these Fortifications, a plate of lead was prepared which was placed at the salient angle of the Cape Diamond Bastion, and when a part of that work was taken down in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five to be rebuilt, it was found there, with an inscription to commemorate its foundation\*

\* The Inscription was in these words:

Regnante Ludovico XV :  
 Christianissimo Gallorum Rege.  
 Ætatis Sux annum agente XI<sup>um</sup> Regni V<sup>um</sup>,  
 Augustissimo ac Potentissimo Principe.  
 Duce aurelianensium Philippo.  
 Regis avunculo : Regnum Gubernante.  
 Illustrissimo ac serenissimo Principe.  
 Ludovico Alexandro de Bourbon,  
 Tolosæ Comite.  
 Concilio Maritimo Rei que maritimæ præposito.  
 Illustrissimo Joanne D'Estrée Franciæ Marescallo  
 Americæ Septentrionalis, Meridionalis que pro Rege.  
 Concilii Maritimi præside :  
 Ac maris præfecti Legato :  
 Philippo de Rigaud Marchione de Vaudreuil :  
 Novæ Franciæ Gubernatore

THE wooden works erected for the protection of CHAP. Montreal, were in such a state of dilapidation that the IV. Government of France directed by an Arrêt, † that stone works should be erected, and two years afterwards they were begun. The money, amounting to three hundred thousand livres, was advanced and paid by the Intendant out of the Royal Treasury. The King of France by an Arrêt of his Council of State, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, directed, that one half of that sum should remain on His Majesty's account, and that the Seminary of Montreal (Saint Sulpice) and the inhabitants should be obliged to repay the other half to His Majesty. The Seminary as Lords of the Island of Montreal, two thousand livres, and the Citizens, four thousand livres, annually, until the capital was paid off. These sums continued to be collected until the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty. The mode of repartition and collection was settled by the Judge of Montreal and the Attorney General, and homologated by the Governor and Intendant; so that whatever sum or proportion of the four thousand livres, they rated each Citizen, he was compelled to pay,

hisce Monumentis

Regis sumptibus Conciliique Maritimi autoritate extractis

Prima hæc posuit fundamenta :

Michael Begon.

Civilis Disciplinæ

Rei Judiciaræ. Æraræ : ac Maritimæ :

atque hujus Colonix præfectus,

Dirigente Gasp : Chaussegros de Lery :

Regio bellicorum operum machinatore

Nonis Junii. An. Dom. MDCCXX.

† Colony Records.—The population of Quebec amounted to 7000 Souls. The population of Montreal to 3000.

CHAP. by the Royal Court of Montreal; there was no exam-  
 IV. ple of refusal ever known. The tax was chearfully  
 paid.

BARRACKS were wanted for the Troops, and upon the representation of the Governor, the King of France sent an order in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, to have the necessary Barracks, built at Quebec; he also directed, that the money should be advanced out of the Royal Treasury on the Intendant's order. The Intendant also received an order to ascertain the annual expence of these Barracks, which was done, and amounted to thirteen thousand three hundred and fifty-one livres, per annum. This sum was apportioned by the Intendant, the Judge of the Prêvoté and the Attorney General, and the Citizens of Quebec paid it, according to the assessment, until the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine. These Barracks were accidentally burnt in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, and the six French regiments that arrived that year were lodged at the houses of the Citizens, receiving for each soldier two sols, or one penny, and twenty sols, or ten pence for each officer, per diem. Whenever the Inhabitants of the Towns or Country were commanded to assist in the building of Public Works they were paid a reasonable price for their labour, and this held equally when called on for services in the nature of work of every denomination; but when called out as Militia, and on Military Service, they had no pay, provisions and cloathing were only allowed. As to the Militia, there never was any Edict, Arret or Ordinance of the King's, or any authority derived from him establishing them in Canada. The Establishment how-

ever, took place with the Colony from necessity and from the Prerogative of the Crown, which had no bounds in Canada, nor indeed any where else.

CHAP.  
IV.

THE adjustment of the limits of the several Parishes of the Colony had engaged the attention of the Government, and the consideration of so important an object was entrusted to the Governor, the Intendant and the Bishop. A Regulation they had proposed in fixing the limits of the Parishes, was submitted to the Royal consideration, and after mature deliberation it was approved and confirmed by the Duke of Orleans, then Regent of France, who ordered that the Regulation should be executed according to its form and tenor.

1722.

RESPECTING the Commerce of Canada, there sailed from this Country this year, nineteen vessels for the Ocean. Six Ships had been built in Canada, for the Merchant Service, and sailed this year from Quebec to France. Two Men of War were also constructed here, for the Navy of France. The Exports to France, consisted of Peltries, Lumber, Staves, Tar, Tobacco, Flour, Pease and Pork ; and the Imports from France consisted of, Wines, Brandies and Dry Goods.

1723.

As it was conceived expedient by the Crown to declare its pleasure as to the sum to be paid by the Nuns in entering into the religious Communities, a Royal Edict was in the first instance passed, declaring that the Dower of each Nun should be at least, five thousand

Pews and Church Seats regulated this year.—7th June, 1723.

CHAP. Crowns. This Edict was, however repealed, and in  
 IV. the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two,  
 another Edict was issued which required that a Nun's  
 Dower should not exceed three thousand livres; and  
 in order to the faithful performance of the Royal Order,  
 the Governor and the Intendant were directed to at-  
 tend to its execution and to peruse the Contract on each  
 Nun's entering into the Communities in the Province.

1725. THE death of M. De Vaudreuil, on the tenth of Oc-  
 tober of this year, was sincerely felt by the Colony. The  
 sorrow which was manifested on the part of the Inha-  
 bitants was proportionate to the satisfaction which had  
 been displayed when he was first appointed to the Go-  
 vernment, over which he presided for twenty-one years,  
 and the fortunate events which took place during that  
 period, were in a great degree derived from his vigi-  
 lance, firmness and good conduct, and from the suc-  
 cess which almost uniformly accompanied all his enter-  
 prizes.

MR. BEGON who had been appointed Intendant in  
 the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, had long  
 been desirous of returning to France, but could not  
 leave the Colony, until a Successor was appointed.  
 The King of France appointed M. de Chazel as his Suc-  
 cessor, and the Chameau frigate was ordered to bring  
 him over to this Country. This vessel, however, on  
 her passage was unfortunately wrecked on the Coast of  
 Cape Breton, when every soul on board, consisting of  
 two hundred and fifty persons, were totally lost.

As soon as the news of the frigate being lost with



the Intendant on board, was known in France, another Gentleman was appointed. Mr. Du Puy succeeded to the situation, and on the nineteenth of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six, Mr. Begon sailed for France.

CHAP.  
IV.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
CANADA.

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## CHAPTER V.

*From the Year 1726, to the appointment of the Marquis  
du Quesne de Menneville in 1752.*

CHAP. V. **ON** the death of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, \* on the  
tenth day of October of the preceding year, the Pro-  
vince was committed to the care of the Marquis de  
Beauharnois.† This gentleman was a natural son of  
Lewis the IVth of France. Mr. Dupuy who had suc-

\* *Inscription on Vaudreuil's Coffin.*—Cy gist haut et puissant Seigneur Messire  
Phillipe Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Grand Croix de l'ordre militaire de St.  
Louis, Gouverneur et Lieutenant Général de toute la Nouvelle France, décédé  
le dixième Octobre, 1725.

† Commission dated the 11th January. Registered 2d September.—Colony  
Records.

ceeded Mr. Begon, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six, remained but a few years in this Country, and was followed by Mr. Hocquart, who was appointed to supply his place, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine.

CHAP.  
V.

THE conduct of Governor Burnet of New York, who had erected a Trading House and Fort at Oswego, with a view of diverting the Indian Trade to New York, had alarmed the Marquis's mind. To counteract the effect of such a measure, he sent the Baron de Longueuil, to the Onandaga Nation, for leave to raise a Store House, at Niagara. By the acts and intrigues of the Jesuits, who represented to them, how necessary it was that they should permit the French to build the Store House and Fort, for their security and protection against the English ; they at length consented, but as soon as these matters were made known to the other Nations, they declared the permission granted by the Onandagas, to be absolutely void ; and sent Deputies to Niagara with a Message signifying that the Country in which they were at work belonged solely to the Senecas, and required them immediately to desist. The French regardless of the embassy pushed on with their enterprize, while Joncaire exerted all his address among the Indians, to prevent the demolition of the works, and at length succeeded. Burnet disappointed at not being able to dispossess the French, resolved on completing his works at Oswego, and sent a strong force to the Fort, to garrison it ; which so enraged Beauharnois, that in the month of July, he sent a written summons to the English Officer to abandon it, and dispatched Mr. de la Chaessaigne to Mr. Burnet, with strong remonstrances

CHAP. against his conduct : Mr. Burnet sent him a polite, but  
 V. resolute answer on the eighth of August, in which he  
 refuted Beauharnois' arguments, and remonstrated against the proceedings at Niagara. This letter was written in the French language, and transmitted to the Marquis, who observed to Mr. James Livingston,\* of New-York, then in Canada, for his education and noticed by Beauharnois, that Mr. Burnet should have maintained the honor as well as the rights of his Nation. "I know, (said he) that Mr. Rou, the French Huguenot Parson at New York, and the Governor are inseparable, and therefore this may account for his uncourtly mistake." Beauharnois then sent a message to the officer commanding the Post at Oswego, ordering him to abandon it, and another message to Mr. Burnet, to let him know, that he was determined on hostile measures, if the Fort was not abandoned. Burnet upon this threat reinforced the Garrison, to secure it in the event of an attack.

1727. MR. DE MORNAY was this year installed Bishop of Canada by virtue of the King's Letters Patent. This gentleman, however, never arrived in the Country, and his functions were supplied by Mr. Dosquet, under the title of the Bishop of Samos. Mr. Dosquet was appointed a few years after, Bishop, but resigned in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five on the resignation of Mr. de Mornay. Mr. François Louis Pourroy de L'auberivières succeeded Mr. Dosquet, and he arrived in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine, but lived but a few days after, having caught a malignant fever on board the vessel that brought him over.

\* The Author's Grandfather on his Mother's side.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-one, CHAP.  
 Mr. de Pontbriant was appointed Bishop of Canada, V.  
 and died at Montreal, in the month of July, one thou-  
 sand seven hundred and sixty. He was eminent for his  
 great piety and extensive charity. High Mass was per-  
 formed in the Ursuline Church in reverence to his me-  
 mory. The walls, altar and pulpit were hung with  
 black, and a Coffin was erected within the Chancel,  
 covered with a velvet Pall, and many dozen of wax can-  
 dles were lighted on the occasion. The service was per-  
 formed by Mr. Briand a Canon of the Cathedral.\*

GOVERNOR BURNET still retained possession of Os- 1731,  
 wego, notwithstanding that Beauharnois had done every  
 thing in his power to induce the Governor of New  
 York to abandon that place. Beauharnois well knew,  
 that by the English retaining that Post, their Interest  
 with the Indians would increase the Trade diverted by  
 the way of Albany, and that this Post would serve as a  
 frontier to the Colony of New York, by affording pro-  
 tection to their new Settlers, who by extending their  
 Settlements augmented the growth and strength of that  
 Colony. To repress this spirit of enterprize and exertion,  
 and in conformity to the designs of the French Govern-  
 ment, whose grand object was to restrict the English Co-  
 lonies to scant limits along the Sea Coast, he conceived  
 the idea of erecting of a Fort at Crown Point, on Lake  
 Champlain, which, at the same time that it would give  
 him a command of those waters, would serve as a Post  
 from its proximity to the Villages on the Hudson and

\* Afterwards appointed Superintendant of the Catholic Church, by His Bri-  
 tannic Majesty, on the recommendation of Governor Murray in 1766.

CHAP. Connecticut Rivers, to annoy the Settlements and  
 V. spread horror and devastation throughout that Coun-  
 try. The building of Fort Frederick had no sooner  
 commenced than the Massachusetts Government fore-  
 saw the dangerous consequences of it, and Gover-  
 nor Belcher sent a letter to Mr. Vandam, Governor of  
 New York to inform him, that the General Court had  
 passed a vote, to bear their proportion of the charge of  
 an Embassy to Canada to forbid the works, and pres-  
 sed him to engage the opposition of the Six Nations.  
 Van Dam laid the letter before his Council on the  
 fourth of February, one thousand seven hundred and  
 thirty-two, but no measures were taken in consequence  
 of it, and the French retained peaceable possession of  
 what they had acquired. The war which broke out  
 between England and France opened a door to the hor-  
 rid barbarities, committed not only from this, but other  
 Posts possessed by the French. Numbers of scouting  
 parties were sent into the interior of the English Colo-  
 nies, and so great was the consternation of the inhabit-  
 ants on the frontier, that the Settlers fled from their ha-  
 bitations, to the more inland places of security. A party  
 of French and Indians advanced to Saratoga, within forty  
 miles of Albany, attacked the Fort at that place,  
 which they burnt, killed a number of the inhabitants,  
 and carried others into captivity.

1733. THE irregularities and improper conduct of the Nuns  
 of the General Hospital had been the subject of much  
 regret and anxiety. Contrary to every principle of their  
 institution they frequently accepted of invitations to  
 dinners and suppers, and mixed in society, without  
 considering the vows that restricted them to their Con-

vent. The King of France directed a letter \* to be written to the Coadjutor of Quebec, by the Minister having the department of the Marine, importing, "That his Majesty was much displeased with the conduct of the Nuns: that regularity and order might be restored by reducing the Nuns to the Number of twelve, according to their original establishment: and that as the management and superintendance of the Community had been granted to the Governor, Bishop and Intendant, his Majesty directed, That the Coadjutor should take the necessary measures, in conjunction with Mr. Beauharnois and Mr. Hocquart, to prevent them from repeating a conduct, so indecent and improper."

CHAP.  
V.

THE Bishop's order which restricted the Priests from administering the Sacrament to persons selling spirituous liquors to the Indians, had long been considered as a measure of extreme rigour. The King of France, as soon as he was apprized of this order, directed a letter † to be written to the then Bishop of Samos, importing, That his Majesty considered such an order both rigorous and impolitic: that he learnt with regret, that the King's officers had been obliged to come down to Quebec from Fort Frontenac, to obtain absolution, and

\* Maurepas' Letter, 9th April, 1733,

† Maurepas' Letter.

1730. Debts contracted before registry of declaration of 5th July 1717, and not for French money, to be paid with one fourth reduction, which brings Canada money to French money. Royal declaration 25th March, to explain that of 5th July 1717.

1732. Requêtes Civiles and oppositions regulated by Royal Declaration, in ten articles 22d April; alters Code Civile of 1667.

Prohibition to the Clergy to screen Criminals.

CHAP. that his Majesty directed, that immediately on the receipt of his letter, that the Bishop should repeal this order, which in obedience to his Majesty's order, was immediately acquiesced in.

V.

DIFFICULTIES having arisen respecting the Bishop's Palace, then claimed by the Nuns of the General Hospital, a letter was written by Mr. de Maurepas, the Minister having the Department of the Marine, to the Coadjutor of Quebec importing, that the Nuns of the General Hospital then claimed the Bishop's Palace of Quebec as Residuary Legatees of Mr. de Saint Vallier, formerly Bishop of Quebec; that Saint Vallier made a donation in one thousand seven hundred and ten, of the Palace to the Bishoprick and to the future Bishops of Quebec, and that Mr. de Mornay had renounced this donation on the ninth of June, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine. These two deeds Maurepas declared to be absolute nullities; because the Bishop's Palace did not belong to Saint Vallier, because in the deed by which he acquired the ground on which the Palace was built, he declared that he made the purchase for the purpose of building on the lot a Palace for himself and his Successors in the Bishoprick: Because also, his Majesty had given ten thousand livres towards the building, and lastly, that Saint Vallier had never considered it as his own property, because he had never appealed from an Arrêt of the Superior Council of Quebec, by which he was condemned to restore the price or value of a part of the original lot which he sold. His Majesty therefore, ordered the Nuns to abandon their claim. It seems however, that they persisted in it until one thousand seven hundred and forty-three, but on the eighth of May



of the same year, Maurepas wrote to the Bishop of Quebec, importing, That the claim of the Nuns of the General Hospital of Quebec to the Bishop's Palace, was not a just one, as he would perceive by the Arrêt which had been passed on that subject, reuniting it to the King's Domain. His Majesty, however, granted the building and the property attached to it, to the future Bishops of the Colony.

CHAP.  
V.

As early as the year one thousand seven hundred and three, an Edict had been issued by the King of France, to restrain the Religious Communities from acquiring property beyond a fixed extent; and by a subsequent Edict, no purchases in mortmain was to be made by them, without leave in writing first had and obtained. The evil, however, still continued, which made it necessary for the King to issue a Royal Edict which prohibited all mortmain acquisitions, and all changes and alienations. 1743.

To prevent minors from marrying, the Superior Council interdicted all Curés marrying minors without permission, and directed them in all cases, to conform to the Canonical Ordinances respecting the publication of Banns of Marriage.

THIS year was rendered remarkable in consequence of a letter addressed to the Governor and Intendant of this Province, pointing out the course by which the King of France would in future direct the Registration of the Royal Edicts and Ordinances, that he should see fit to extend to Canada. By this letter he directed, that no Edict, Declaration or Letters Patent should be 1744.

CHAP. registered in the Superior Council of Quebec, but by  
 V. his special order, signified by the Secretary having the  
 Department of the Marine. This letter was circular to all the French Governors and Intendants of the Colonies. Nothing can shew the wisdom, justice and policy of the French Government more than this measure. The King was well aware, that all the Laws and Ordinances of the Kingdom of France were not suited to the condition of the Colonists, who took with them only such Laws of the Mother Country as they thought useful and necessary; and therefore in future Laws intended to affect them, he ordered that the Registration should be made, as the clearest manifestation of his intention to bind them. Two years after the date of the former letter, a similar order was given by the King, to the same effect.\*

THIS principle was recognized by the Court of Appeals of this Province, on the twenty-first of February, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight. The Judgment was drawn up by the then Chief Justice of the Province.†

THE idleness and drunkenness, with the train of disorders that such vices usually produce, had long been the subject of deep regret to those that were enemies to such practices. The innumerable Fêtes or Holidays that were established by the Church, afforded opportunities to the dissolute, and occasioned frequent instances of enormities of great magnitude. To check this evil, a

\* Petit Vol. II. p. 185.

† William Smith, Esquire.—A Gentleman of the first rate abilities, and whose name is known with repute in both Hemispheres.—The Author's Father.

representation was sent to France, stating to his Majesty, the necessity of suppressing a certain number of the Fête days, which had been so injurious to the Colony. His Majesty upon this representation, convinced of the wisdom of the measure, ordered the Secretary of State or Minister to signify his pleasure to the Bishop of Quebec, and directed him to suppress several of the Fête days in his Diocese ; which was immediately done by the then Bishop.\*


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THE French law in this Country with respect to the Partage of Lands, among all the Children, without regard to primogeniture, had been attended with great inconveniencies. Indeed nothing has reduced the families of the ancient French Seigneurs to misery, more than the division and subdivision of their lands by their own law. A law which though it appears at first to breathe more the spirit of democracy than of monarchy, yet, in fact, is calculated for a Military Government only, because Nobles so reduced can and will only live by the sword.† The allotments of their under Tenants, which consisted of about eighty acres, just sufficient for Summer pasture and Winter fodder for the Cattle of one family, was also subject to the law of Partition of Lands *ad infinitum*, in successions. This Partition was an obstacle to the clearing and cultivation of more lands, and therefore induced the King of France to issue an Edict, which imported : That his Majesty being informed, that the clearing and cultivation of Lands in Ca-

1745.

\* Maurepas' Letter, dated 17th April, 1744.

† Thus was introduced into America the Feudal System so long the ruin of Europe.—Raynal Vol. 8, p. 143. Ordinance of the King 28th April, 1745, forbidding the Erection of Towns and Villages by Seigneur, except authorized by Governor and Intendant.

CHAP. V.  nada had not made the progress that had been expected; that the Colony had not been able to furnish for many years the necessary supplies for its Inhabitants : that the principal cause arose from the circumstance that the greater part of the Inhabitants confined themselves to the cultivation of such portions of Lands only, they held by inheritance, which by constant partage had been reduced to so small a portion as not to be sufficient for their subsistence : and that in order to oblige the Inhabitants to make locations that might be useful to themselves and be of advantage to the Country, he directed, that no buildings in future should be erected unless on tracts with a front of one and a half arpent, on a depth of forty arpents, under a penalty of one hundred livres, and the demolition and prostration of the edifice, with an exception however, as to barns and granaries of wood, and places under the Town Police. Notwithstanding so salutary an order, five inhabitants of the Island of Orleans, had built their houses on a smaller extent of land than was required by the King's order, and in direct violation of this Ordinance. A prosecution was commenced against them, and by a judgment of the Intendant, their houses were demolished, and each of the inhabitants were fined one hundred livres.\*

\* Arrêts Vol. I. p. 551.

† In order to give the reader an idea of the Tenure of Lands in Canada, the following account is given :

Every Seignory is a Fief; if the Fief or Seignory is held of the Crown the proprietor is the King's vassal ; every vassal is obliged to render Fealty and Homage on becoming proprietor of a Fief held of His Majesty. In general, the Fiefs in this Province, pay a *Quint* or fifth to His Majesty every time they are sold; but nothing pecuniary when the vassal takes possession by gift, by legacy, or by inheritance. This fifth is paid by the purchaser on admission to Homage, and is equal to one fifth of the sum, which he paid, or agreed to pay, to the seller of the Fief. It is however the established usage of the Crown, to abate one third of the one fifth or *Quint*, but this usage has its origin in grace and favour. Such

THE difficulties and misunderstandings that had existed between France and Great Britain, in the preceding year, broke out into actual hostilities.

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is the Tenure of Fiefs, according to the Custom of Paris. Those Fiefs that pay a *Relief* or Mutation Fine to the King on every change of proprietor, are said to be held by the Custom of Vexin Le François. This fine is a sum in money, equal to one year's clear income of the Fief. Fiefs do not pay any yearly rent whatsoever. Proprietors of Fiefs held of the Crown, are Military Tenants. What services they owe His Majesty in that capacity, must be learned from the Oath of Fealty and Homage. The rights annexed to Fiefs depend on the King's Original Grant. In general in this Province, they consisted of that of holding Courts of Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction, (*haute, moyenne et basse Justice*) of hunting, fishing, and trading with the Indians; of granting lands to be held of the Fief in *Roture* at such annual *Cens et Rentés* as can be obtained. The *Cens* intitling the Seigneur to the mutation fine, called *Lots et Ventes*, that is, the one twelfth of the price the *Rotures* held of him shall be sold for, and the right of Banality, or exclusive Mills to grind his Tenants' Corn, for doing of which he is entitled to the fourteenth bushel.

Fiefs when they descend by inheritance, are divisible into the smallest parts, and every divided part becomes a distinct Fief. This is established by the law, the Custom of Paris; the Crown cannot refuse as its vassal, any Heir, of the last possessor, for that part, which by law he inherits. The law does not divide Fiefs equally when taken by inheritance. If there are but two Sons, or one Son and one Daughter, the eldest Son inherits two thirds of the Fief. When more than two children succeed, the eldest Son has but half of the Fief. Among females, or collaterals there is no right of primogeniture.

The vassal cannot dismember his Fief, that is, sell a part of it, so as to prejudice the King. His Lord or superior Seigneur, without consent; the King will judge who is fitting to become his vassal, either for the whole or a part. If the vassal sells a part of his Fief, without his Lord's consent, the sale may be avoided. The vassal may however, grant *arrière Fiefs*, to hold of himself, by Homage and Fealty, and may give all pecuniary advantages to his vassals, that he himself possesses. This is not dismembering the original Fief, because the Faith and Homage to the King for the whole Fief, is reserved, and still continues to be rendered by His Majesty's immediate vassal. Yet this *Jeu de Fief*, as the law calls it, must not exceed two thirds of the whole Fief, for if it does, it would be held as a dismemberment, and would thereafter hold of His Majesty as a distinct Fief.

The Vassal or Seigneur of a Fief, may grant Leases for ever, of the whole, or any part of his Fief, to hold of his Fief in *Roture*. The law calls such grants *Concessions*, où *Bail à Cens et Rentés Foncières non rachetable, annuel et perpétuel*.

CHAP. V. THAT the success that had attended the French arms under the Marshal Saxe against the Allies at the Battle of Fontenoy, on the eleventh of May, one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, might be generally known

These funded annual rents, represent the soil or part of the Seignory so granted, and seem attached to it for ever. The grantee is called by the Lord of the Fief, *his Censitaire*, *his Tenant*. This annual rent and *Cens* is in most Seignories one half penny of rent for every superficial french acre the Concession contains, and half a bushel of wheat for every twenty acres, with a penny of yearly *Cens* for the whole. Many Seignors, to induce the settlement of their Estates have conceded their lands at a less annual rent. In the District of Quebec a *Gapon* instead of the half bushel of wheat was usually paid, and at the first settling of the Country. many *Rotures* were granted, paying annually but one or two sols or half pennies of *Cens* for an entire farm of ninety acres. It is this *Cens* which creates a *Roture* or *Ignoble* tenure, and is as distinguishing a symbol of it, as Faith and Homage is of its contrary, a Fief.

There is not any positive law, to restrain the Seigneur from obtaining as much yearly rent as he can from those who wish to settle on his Estate. Yet the Edict of 1711, gave the Intendant authority to concede for the King's benefit, and at the customary price or rate of the other *Roture* farms of the Seignory, such uncultivated woodland farms, as the Seigneur, without just cause, refused to concede. This arbitrary power was never carried into effect by positive example. The same Edict, forbids the Seigneur to sell his woodlands for money or any other way, than annual rents, or (*Cens et redevances annuelles*.) Another Edict of the same year 1711, requires, that every person who takes a *Roture* grant from a Seigneur, shall settle and build a dwelling house on it, in twelve months from the date of his grant, otherwise the Seigneur may re-unite it to his Domain; of this there are many examples under judgments of the Intendant's Court; there are also examples of Seignories being reunited to the King's Domain for similar cause, neglect of settlement.

*Corvées* or day's labour, of the Tenant to his Lord, are not of right, or understood as annexed to lands. Yet they may be specially covenanted for, as may be any other personal obligation, that can be valued in money. Without such agreement the rule of law, under the Custom of Paris, *point de servitude sans titre*, would relieve any *Censitaire* from whom his Lord should exact such service. This principle of law, holds equally good against the Crown. It was the plenitude of the power of the French Crown, which at will appropriated the lives and fortunes of his Christian Majesty's subjects, that called out Canadians to *Corvées* and personal services when required by the Intendant or Governor General.

The manner of obtaining Lettres de Terrier in France, is subjoined.

When a Seigneur is desirous of making out a Terrar of his Estate or Fief, it is customary to obtain the King's Letters authorizing him to do it. These are

in all the French Colonies, the King of France dispatched a letter addressed to the Bishop of Quebec, commanding a Thanksgiving, and that the *Te Deum* should be celebrated in the Cathedral Church at Quebec.\*

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\* King's Letter to the Bishop, 20th June 1745.

As the existence of such a power in the Crown has on a late occasion been denied (in 1810) a reference to the Letter in question, will satisfy the most incredulous:—Also Mr. Pont briant's Mandate in 1759.

called *Lettres de Terrier*. Without obtaining such permission, where the maxim of *no Estate without a Lord* is admitted, he could only exact acknowledgments from his Tenants or Censitaires at every change of Vassalage.

These Letters are obtained under the *Great Seal* or in the Chancery established near the Parliament where the Fief resorts or appeals to in Judicial proceedings.

The Judges who order the Registration of the King's Letters, ought to appoint a Notary or other Officer of public character to receive the Acts of Fealty and Homage, of Avowal, Detail, Declaration or Acknowledgement, and of all other Deeds renewing the Titles and Rights of the Fief. And for that purpose they ought to enjoin the Vassals to appear before such Officer to exhibit and communicate their Titles, and afterwards make up such Acts of Fealty and Homage, Avowal, Detail or Acknowledgment as the Renewal subjects them to.

The King's Letters usually set forth the Rights of the person at whose instance they are obtained, the motives for which they are granted, a power or Commission to his Majesty's Judge to oblige the Censitaires to fulfil their obligations. The nomination of the Notary or Commissary who is to make up the Land Roll, the *Pains or Penalties* that may be inflicted or levied upon the Tenants for unfaithful declarations, the right of obtaining by compulsory means, Deeds deposited in public places, the right of attaching in default of Fealty and exhibition of Titles, the penalties upon Officers who refuse communication of Titles and deeds demanded of them, the right of ascertaining Boundaries and punishing of usurpations, and of attaching for the King the Inheritances which made parcel of the Seignory,

Lewis the XIVth in 1658, ordered a General Terrar of Lands held of his Domain throughout the Kingdom of France, and establishing an Office in the Bailiwick of Paris for that purpose. At the same time, his Majesty suspended the Terrars of private Seigneurs until the General Terrar was accomplished.

An Arrêt of his Majesty in Council appeared on the 4th January, 1663, for perfecting the Royal Terrar, with Rules and Regulations for Estates held *en Fief* and *en Roture*.

The Terrar of the Province of Bordeaux was particularly ordered by an Ar-

CHAP. V. THE reduction of Louisburg and the Island of Cape Breton, by the New England troops under Mr. Pepperel, aided by Admiral Warren's squadron, was no sooner known in France, than the French Government ordered an extensive armament to be equipped, under the command of the Duke d'Anville, \* a nobleman, in whose courage and conduct, great confidence was placed. As early as the beginning of May, the fleet was ready for sea, but detained by contrary winds, until the twenty-second of June, when it left Rochelle, and then consisted of eleven ships of the line, thirty smaller vessels from ten to thirty guns, and transports with three thousand land forces, commanded by Mr. Pommeril, a Brigadier General. The French of Nova Scotia, it was expected would join them, and Mr. de Ramsay, with seventeen hundred Canadians and Indians, were there, waiting their arrival. To this force was to be added Mr. Conflans, with four ships from the West Indies. The fleet, was but a short time at sea, when the ships separated, and but few of them arrived at Chebucto, with the Northumberland, the Duke d'Anville's ship, on the twelfth of September, where the Duke was taken ill, and on the morning of the sixteenth of September died of an Apoplexy. A Council of war, was called on the eighteenth, when the Vice Admiral proposed returning to France, as there were but seven ships

\* Hutchinsqn's Hist. of Massachusetts. Vol. II. p. 427.

rêt in December, 1680, by another in August, 1682, and by Letters Patent in August, 1752.

The King's Letters must be Registered by the Judge (or Parliament) to whom they are addressed. And when so registered, advertisements and publications may then be made in public places, to notify the Vassals and Tenants of the Commission.

The power of granting Lettres de Terrier, is vested by a late law of the Province, 1808, in the Governor.



remaining, and on board the missing vessels, the greater proportion of the troops. This motion, was however opposed by La Jonquiere, (who had been appointed Governor of Canada, on the fifteenth of March, on the recall of Beauharnois,) and others who proposed the attack of Annapolis and Nova Scotia, which if they did not succeed in taking it, they might either winter securely at Casco Bay, or in the last extremity to return to France. The Vice Admiral having been, for some time indisposed, and the motion not prevailing, he was thrown into a fever attended with a delirium, in which he imagined himself among the English, and run himself through the body. Jonquiere \* succeeded, and though above sixty years of age, was still more active than his predecessor, which naturally raised the expectations of the fleet and army. While the French were preparing for the attack of Annapolis, an express boat, from Mr. Shirley of Boston, on her way to Louisburgh, with the news of Admiral Lestock's departure for America, was taken by a French Cruizer, and carried into Chebucto. Jonquiere, on this news, accelerated his sailing, and on the fifteenth of October, being near Cape Sable, they met with a violent storm, which separated the fleet, and returned to France, without accomplishing the object the French Government had in view. The Government of France was however, by no means discouraged by this disaster, and in order to be revenged for her late ill success, an armament was equipped, to renew their efforts against the English Colonies. For this purpose, a squadron was prepared at Brest, under the command of Admiral de la Jonquiere, who sailed with

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1747,

\* Appointed 15th March 1746, not registered at Quebec until 16th August 1749.

CHAP. another fleet, under the command of Mr. de St. George,  
 V. destined against the English settlements in India.

THE ministry of England, apprized of these measures, resolved to intercept both squadrons, which were to sail together. For this purpose Admiral Anson and Rear Admiral Warren took their departure from Plymouth, with a formidable fleet, and steered their course to Cape Finisterre, on the coast of Galicia. On the third of May, they fell in with the French squadrons, consisting of six large ships of war, as many frigates, and four armed vessels equipped by their East India company, having under their convoy, about thirty ships laden with merchandize. The French ships of war, immediately shortened sail, and formed a line of battle, while the rest, under the protection of the frigates, proceeded on their voyage, with all the sail they could carry. The British squadron was also prepared for action, but Admiral Warren, perceiving that the enemy were sheering off, now that the convoy was at a distance, proposed to Admiral Anson, to change the signal and to give chase, and engage, otherwise the French would escape by favor of the night : In consequence of this advice, the action, was at four o'clock in the afternoon renewed, which was well sustained by the French, until over powered by the spirit of British seamen, when they struck their colours. The English Admiral detached three ships in pursuit of the convoy, nine sail of which were taken, but the rest got off, by the intervening darkness of the night. A considerable quantity of Bullion was found in the prizes, which was landed at Portsmouth and conveyed in twenty waggons, to the Bank of London. Admiral

Anson was ennobled and Mr. Warren honored with the Order of the Bath.

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As the Admiral de la Jonquière was captured, the Government of Canada of course became vacant ; the King, to supply his place, committed the Care of the Colony to the Count de la Galissioniere by Commission dated on the tenth June. \* Mr. Hocquart, who had been recalled at the same time with the Marquis de Beauharnois, had for his Successor, Mr. Bigot by Commission of the first of January, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight. His powers as Intendant were considerably enlarged, they extended to Louisiana, and all the Lands and Islands dependant on New France. He had, by his Commission,

Cognizance on complaints of the Military and others.  
Redress all practices against Royal Service.

Cognizance of Crimes with the number of Judges and Graduates directed by the Ordinances.

Preside in Sovereign Council, take the voices and pronounce the decrees.

Support inferior Courts from encroachments of the Sovereign Council. Construction for his own right of evoqing Cause. †

Proceed according to Edicts and the Custom of Paris.

Jointly with the Council to regulate the Police, Fairs, Markets, Sales and Purchases, Assess Goods and Merchandize. On delays to act alone.

\* Registered at Quebec, 25th following.—Colony Record\*.

† Petit Vol. I. p. 223.

CHAP. The distribution of public money for Fortifications  
 V. and Army Subsistence. All accounts to come to him.

Sovereign Jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, that affect the Royal Revenue.

His Judgments executable, oppositions, challenges and appeals, *non obstantibus*.


His issues to be according to yearly orders, and balance to be devoted to Royal Service; Sovereign Council of Quebec, and all others to aid him, with force if necessary.

The Count de la Galissioniere, who was a man of distinguished abilities, had no sooner taken the reins of Government, than his active mind led him to acquire a just knowledge of the Country, its climate, population, wealth and commerce. He drew up a Statement to the Court of France, in which he detailed the advantages to be derived to France from the Colony, and proposed a system, which if it had been adopted in time, might have prevented the British Conquest, of one thousand seven hundred and sixty. While a Commissioner for adjusting the limits unsettled by the Peace of one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight, he pressed the sending out of Du Quesne who was an excellent Engineer to lay hold of the interior Country by Fortifications, and urged the Government of France to send over at the same time, ten thousand French Peasants to make Settlements in the Southwestern Indian Countries on the Banks of the Lakes and Chief Rivers. This measure if it had been pursued, would have certainly restricted the English Colonies to the Alleghany Mountains and in time exposed them to ruin. The neglect of

Galissionaire's advice, who well knew the debility of Canada, paved the way to the reduction of the Colony by exciting to measures which gave rise to the hostilities of one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, and the glorious Peace of one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three.

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GALISSIONIÈRE, persuaded that peace would soon be concluded, and sensible of the importance of giving certain boundaries both to Canada and Nova Scotia, detached an officer, Mr. de Celeron de Bienville with three hundred men, with orders to repair to Detroit, and from thence to traverse the Country as far as the Apalachian Mountains, which he admitted to be the bounds of the English Plantations in America, and beyond which he denied that they had any pretentions. This officer was directed not only to use his influence to procure a number of Indians to accompany him, but to exact a promise from them, that they would not in future, admit English Traders among them. Leaden plates, with the Arms of France, were engraved on them, and were furnished this officer, and he was ordered to bury them at particular stations; a Procès Verbal was then drawn up, signed by himself, and by those officers that accompanied him. With this Gentleman, Galissioniere sent a letter to Mr. Hamilton, the Governor of Pennsylvania, apprizing him of the step he had taken, and requesting that in future he would give orders to prevent his people from trading beyond the Apalachian Mountains, as he had received commands from the Court of France, to seize the Merchants and confiscate the goods of those found trading in these Countries.

CHAP. V.  incontestibly belonging to France. De Celeron discharged his commission with punctuality, but not without exciting the apprehensions of the natives, who declared that the object of France, in taking possession of their Country, was either to make them subjects or perhaps slaves. The immense load of Procès Verbaux that had been drawn up, on this expedition was handed to Galissionière, and transmitted to the Court of France. As a recompence for his trouble, Celeron was two years afterwards appointed to the command of Detroit, with the rank of Major.

ACADIA or Nova Scotia, by the Treaty of Utrecht, was ceded to Great Britain: By that Treaty it was stipulated, “ That such of the French inhabitants as chose to remain in Nova Scotia and become Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, should enjoy the free exercise of their Religion according to the Church of Rome, as far as the laws of Great Britain permitted.” Many of the inhabitants availed themselves of this indulgent article, took the Oath of Allegiance, and held quiet possession of their property. Galissionière had long entertained an idea of withdrawing these people from under the English Government, with a view of forming a new Colony, and as the Priests they had with them were the proper engines to set to work, he employed Abbé Le Loutre, and several others, who used every exertion to induce them to withdraw from under the English Government, declaring that it was not only their interest, but that being Frenchmen, and of the same religion with themselves, they should on every principle, abandon the English, and join a small Colony soon to be established in a certain part of Acadia. Galissio-

nière to favor these designs, took possession of the Country on this side of the Peninsula of Acadia, and sent his orders to the Commander of the Post to hold the same, by force of arms. Loutre's activity and persuasions induced several families to remove to the Post established by the French, where every attention and protection was afforded them.

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PLEASED with the success of this measure, and inspired with a hope that vast numbers would follow the example of the first Seceders, by which a powerful Colony might be formed, and a barrier created against the English on that side, Galissionière applied to the Ministry of France for a fund for the carrying on his plan of the Government there, which was immediately fixed at eight hundred thousand Livres, a year. While Galissionière \* was busily employed in these designs, he was recalled, to give place to Mr. de la Jonquière, who had lost his Government by his capture by the English and who now took possession of it in virtue of his former commission. Before he sailed for France however, he furnished his Successor with the best information respecting the Colony, and pointed out the plans he conceived most beneficial for its advancement and prosperity.

LA JONQUIERE did not, however pursue the plans of his Predecessor, with regard to the affairs of Acadia, from a principle that it would be most for the interest of the Colony, not to involve herself and France into a

\* He became a Commissioner on the Limits not settled at the Treaty of Air la Chapelle, in 1748.

CHAP. new war, as he entertained an idea that the unsettled  
 V. limits of that Country at the Peace of Aix la Chapelle,  
 1749 would probably be settled by the Commissioners appointed  
 by both Crowns. This conduct it might naturally be  
 supposed, would have been generally approved of, but  
 so little was it relished by the King of France, that he  
 was reprimanded for his want of activity, in not following  
 up the plan of Galissioniere. New instructions were  
 sent him, by which he was directed, to take immediate  
 possession of the Country, build new Forts, send troops  
 there, and to give every assistance to Abbé le Loutre, and  
 to aid his designs. In consequence of these orders, the  
 Chevalier de la Corne was sent to Nova Scotia, to chuse  
 a spot of ground, on this side of the Peninsula, for the  
 erection of a Fort, and to afford protection to the Aca-  
 dian Families that should withdraw themselves from un-  
 der the English Government. La Corne fixed on Che-  
 diac, on account of its being near the Sea, and of course  
 advantageous for receiving supplies from Canada. Both  
 the Governor and Le Loutre, disapproved of this stati-  
 on from its being too far distant from the Acadian Set-  
 tlements, and another situation was at length chosen,  
 between the Bay of Fundy and the Bay Verte, as better  
 calculated for promoting the views of Government. As  
 a part of the plan, it was thought adviseable to take post  
 near the mouth of the River Saint John, and Mr. de  
 Boishebert proceeded there with a detachment of troops  
 and Canadians ; he was directed to consult with Father  
 Germain, a Jesuit, whose influence was equal in that  
 quarter, to Father Le Loutre's in Nova Scotia.

It was not to be expected, that these measures could  
 escape the observation of Mr. Cornwallis, the Governor



of Nova Scotia ; he made repeated remonstrances on the subject of their encroachments, with no other effect, however, than an order from La Jonquiere, to his officers, to avoid all grounds of dispute, as he expected the limits of the Country, would soon be settled. CHAP.  
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To supply these Posts, was an object of some difficulty, as from the local situation of the one at the River St. John's, it was necessary to make the whole tour of Nova Scotia, by which apprehensions were entertained, least their vessels might be captured by the English. Not only provisions were much wanted, but arms and ammunition for the use of the Acadians and Indians, that had resorted to this Post ; as these supplies, could only be procured from Quebec, and as repeated applications had been made, an armed sloop, commanded by Mr. de Vergor, was at length loaded with these articles, and proceeded to Saint John's River. The Captain was ordered to avoid all English vessels, but, that in case of being attacked, he was to defend himself to the last extremity. Cornwallis, apprized of this design, ordered Captain Rouse to cruize along the coast, and to intercept all vessels he might meet with. Rouse, had been but a few days at sea, when he fell in with de Vergor, who crowded all the sail he could set, to avoid him ; Rouse however, soon after came up with him, and de Vergor, finding it impossible to withstand a contest, struck his colours, without firing a gun. On the news of the capture, de la Jonquiere, ordered the Governor of Louisburgh to make reprisals on all the English vessels, that were or might come into that Port.

CORNWALLIS at length apprized of La Corne's inten-

CHAP. tion, of building a strong Fort, at the Bay of Fundy,  
 V. sent Major Lawrence with a detachment of Troops, to  
 oppose his advancing so far into the Country, and gave  
 orders, that he should build the English Fort as near  
 them as possible, to repress any incursions, that he  
 might make. As soon as Le Loutre was informed of  
 Major Lawrence's movement, to deter others and pu-  
 nish those that did not withdraw from under the En-  
 glish Government, he burnt the Houses and Barns of  
 all those that remained. The detachment under La  
 Corne, encamped near the Bay of Fundy, at a place  
 called Beauséjour, afterwards Fort Cumberland, where  
 Major Lawrence meeting with him, held a conference  
 on the subject of this aggression; La Corne, assured him,  
 that his orders did not permit his advancing any further  
 than the River Beaubassin, and that he might take Post  
 on the other side of it. Lawrence immediately on this  
 constructed a Fort opposite to it, and both commanders  
 maintained possession of their respective Forts, without  
 any interruption.

THE conduct of the English Traders, who had pene-  
 trated as far as Sandusky, thirty leagues from Detroit,  
 where they had acquired a considerable influence over a  
 number of Huron Indians residing there, was the source  
 of deep anxiety in the mind of La Jonquiere, To in-  
 duce the Indians to remove to Detroit, was an object of  
 too much importance, not to be attempted, and as Fa-  
 ther de la Richardie had considerable influence, he was  
 chosen, as the best calculated to promote this design. A  
 Council was called on this subject, when the Father de la  
 Richardie, addressed them in this language: That it  
 was a source of continual uneasiness to their brethren

of Lorette, that they were settled in a Country, afford-  
 ing so easy a communication with the English, whose  
 sole object was to deceive them, and that Ononthio, their  
 father, induced by pure motives of affection, wished  
 them to fix their residence at Detroit, where nothing  
 should be wanting for their comfort and support. In  
 their answer to this speech they observed, That they  
 were settled in a fertile Country, abounding with game  
 and hunting; that they could not prevent the English  
 or French from trading with them; and that the Tribe  
 by no means wished to withdraw from their habitation to  
 settle at Detroit. As de la Jonquiere could not accom-  
 plish his object, the next best course was the one he  
 adopted, of sending an officer to reside near them, and  
 to watch their motions. This officer was also desired to  
 consult with Father de la Richardie, on all measures be-  
 fore they were taken.

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THE supposed discovery of the Pacific Ocean, had long  
 engrossed the attention of the Count, and he had agreed  
 to make large advances in money to ascertain so impor-  
 tant a fact. Mr. de la Verandrye had penetrated the Coun-  
 try beyond Lake Superior and formed a chain of Posts,  
 to the farthest of which he gave the name of the "Queen's  
 Post." Unfortunately, however, this officer was not pos-  
 sessed of talents necessary to reap those advantages to be  
 acquired from a more intelligent Traveller: his Journal  
 neither contained a description of the Country, its climate  
 nor productions, but was filled up with a dull insipid ac-  
 count of each day's march, interspersed with a few idle  
 and unentertaining Indian speeches. He did not even  
 bring back with him a map of the immense Tract he had  
 traversed. As he was considered an improper person

CHAP. for a second mission, others were appointed in his  
 V. place. An opportunity so favorable of making a large  
 sum of money was not to be neglected, and early engrossed the attention of a Society, composed of the Governor, the Intendant, the Comptroller and two Officers, Le Gardeur de Saint Pierre and Marin. The two latter were employed to make the discoveries. De Saint Pierre was directed to proceed to the "Queen's Post," and from thence to push on to a certain spot agreed upon between them for their meeting. Marin's route was to ascend the rivers Mississipi and Missouri, and from thence if he found a river running westward to follow it, until he came to the Pacific Ocean, where Mr. de Saint Pierre was to meet him, if he found any river that had its discharge to the westward. These gentlemen set out on their journey well supplied with every thing that was necessary, at the expence of the Crown: indifferent, however to the object of discovery in contemplation, they proceeded but a short distance in the Indian Country, and returned, their attention having been solely taken up in collecting vast quantities of valuable furs, which were brought down to Quebec, and when sold, netted to each individual of the Society, an enormous profit. The Governor's share alone, amounted to one hundred thousand Ecus or half Crowns. A large sum was divided among the other officers namely, the Intendant, Comptroller and others.

As it was the intention of the French Government to build a strong Fort at Beauséjour, Chaussegros de Léry, son of the Engineer, who traced the fortifications of Quebec, was sent for this purpose. De Vassan, who took the command of this Post, on the return of La

Corne, was instructed to accelerate the works, to pay the utmost attention to Abbé Le Loutre, who had charge of the Acadians, and to avoid all disputes with the English, then fortifying at Beau Bassin. De Vassan's penetration soon led him to discover Le Loutre's true character, but not wishing to have any misunderstanding with him, he left him full scope in the management of the affairs of the Acadians : These unhappy people had no sooner put themselves under his Government, than they felt the iron hand of his tyranny ; neither the provisions nor cloathing furnished by the Crown could be procured, without repeated supplications and prayers, and in every instance he showed a heart steeled against every sentiment of humanity.

CHAP.  
V.  
1750.

THE Intendant in consequence of the approaching scarcity of provisions in Canada, had made an application to France, for the necessary supply ; but as these provisions, could not be received before the succeeding Spring, he wrote to the Commissary at Louisburgh, to enter into a contract with some Englishman, to supply the Posts in Nova Scotia. The Commissary, made an application to Mr. Howe, who had already engaged to furnish the Post at St. John's with provisions, and who receiving assurances of payment, readily consented to the overture. Le Loutre, who was concerned underhandedly with a man, by the name of Le Blanc, in furnishing provisions to this Post, conceived that his interest, would be affected by the convention with Howe, and he therefore expressed his highest disapprobation of the terms of the contract to the Commandant. Le Loutre, who was determined to prevent Howe's having the

CHAP. contract, desired a conference with him. The meeting  
 V. was held, but he had scarcely uttered a few words  
 when he was shot by two Indians, concealed by Le  
 Loutre, behind a Hedge. On Le Loutre's return to the  
 Fort, he was charged with this cruelty, which however  
 he denied : but not to the satisfaction of those acquaint-  
 ed with the transaction.

THE Governors of the English Colonies, conti-  
 nued to grant permission to their merchants, to trade  
 on the Banks of the Ohio. As the Court of  
 France had approved of the system and conduct of Mr.  
 de la Galissionière respecting that Country, orders were  
 received by La Jonquière, to put a stop to their trading  
 with the Indians, and to seize their persons and effects:  
 Jonquière, the better to carry the Government views  
 into execution, sent several officers to the Ohio, who  
 seized three Traders who were brought prisoners to  
 Montreal, with a large quantity of their goods. They  
 were a few days after examined before le Baron de  
 Longueil and Mr. Varin, the Commissary, and after un-  
 dergoing a long examination they were discharged. The  
 interrogatories that were put to them, were transmitted  
 to France and handed to the English Ambassador at Pa-  
 ris. This conduct, was considered the more hostile,  
 as Commissioners had already been appointed by the  
 two Crowns, for the termination of the unsettled Li-  
 mits of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in the year  
 one thousand seven hundred and forty eight; Governor  
 Shirley and Mr Mildmay, had been nominated on the  
 part of Great Britain and Mr. de la Galissionière \* and

\* Mémoires des Commissaires de Sa Majesté très chrétienne and de ceux de  
 Sa Majesté Britannique, Vol. I. p. 11.

Mr. de Silhouette, on the part of France. It was, early CHAP.  
V.  
however discovered after the meeting, that there was but little prospect of an amicable termination of their disputes, and that a war was at no very distant period. De la Jonquière, well knew that in case of such an event, America would be the seat of it, he represented to his Government, the necessity of sending over a large body of troops, for the security of the Colony, and a considerable supply of ammunition and stores, to weaken as much as possible the attachment of the Five Nations to the English of New York; this was an object, that required attention, and to effect it, Mr. de Jonquière Chabert, was sent with a party of the Sault St. Louis Indians, to propose to the Mohawks, a plan he had formed of building a Fort near them, which he promised them should be provided with all sorts of Goods, to supply their wants. Chabert, was desired to request permission to reside among them, and he was ordered to spare no expence in completing the Fort, should the Mohawks permit them to build it. Such was the success that attended this mission, in consequence of the intrigues of Abbé Piquet of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice of Montreal who accompanied Chabert, that the Fort, called, La Présentation, was built, and such were the numbers seduced by his arts, that if Sir William Johnson, had not interposed, the greater part of them, would have abandoned the English and united themselves to the French.

THE small salaries allowed by the Government of France to her officers acted as a bounty to produce speculation, and at length laid a solid foundation for that

CHAP. iniquity and public robbery, so often exercised both in  
 V. the kingdom of France itself and in her Colonies.

MR. BIGOT, the Intendant, who from his first arrival in the Colony, always kept a magnificent and costly table and otherwise lived at a vast expence, was soon sensible how little adequate his small salary was to support these charges. The Indian trade opened a wide field for making a large fortune, and the opportunity was too favorable to be neglected. Bigot, soon became rich, by farming out, at an immense price, the most considerable Posts in the Indian Country. Money became the more necessary, as he had formed an attachment to a Lady, to whom nothing could be denied, necessary either for her comfort or parade. Madame P——n, was distinguished for her beauty, wit and elegance of manners : her charity was unbounded and her kindness and benevolence to the poor, exemplified in many of her actions. Though she had much in her power, from her ascendancy over Bigot, yet her conduct was never marked by any instance of oppression or severity even to her enemies. Her house was distinguished for its generous hospitality, and the charms of her conversation and her vivacity attracted the first society of the Colony. Madame P——n's husband was possessed of little or no estate, but a prospect was then opened that was the means of his making a considerable fortune. Bigot, on the score of attachment to his wife, lent him a large sum of money out of the public chest, with orders to purchase wheat in the Country on his own account, which was re-purchased immediately after by Bigot, for Government at an enormous advance ; a few of these advantageous contracts soon increased his wealth, and



through Mr. Bigot's interest, he was made not only  
 Town Major of Quebec, but in a few years after, was  
 created a Chevalier or Knight of St. Lewis.

CHAP.  
 V.  
 1751.

THE Governor, Intendant, and certain other persons, who were formed into a company, engrossed the greatest part of the trade of the Colony, and gave occasion to loud complaints against them. The Governor and his Secretary Saint Sauveur, became particularly obnoxious in consequence of the order that had been issued, that no person should be allowed to trade in the upper country, without an Indian Pass from the Governor, for which he demanded a large sum of money : and by the exclusive Brandy trade with the Indians, which the Governor granted to Saint Sauveur ; the Secretary resided at Quebec, and employed two or three Serjeants of the troops quartered at Montreal, to carry on the trade, and as no Brandy could be sold by the traders, without his licence, they were obliged to apply to Saint Sauveur's agents, who fixed their price, at an enormous premium. The Governor who participated in these profits, did not merely think of himself, but took care of the interests of his relations. He had obtained through his interest, the situation of *Dean* of Quebec, for his nephew Pierre de Taffanel Cabanac, a country Curate in France, whom he brought over to this Country, with a view of giving him an opportunity of making money in trade : This Priest, was initiated into the mystery, and soon made a large fortune, with which he returned to France. His other nephew was Captain de Bonne de Miselle, an officer in the army who came over to command his company of guards. The Governor, who wished to promote him in the line of his profession applied for the rank of Adjutant-General for him, under the pretence, that

CHAP. V. the troops in the Colony, were under no discipline or order. As the Governor was disappointed in the application in favor of this gentleman, he was resolved to promote his interest in some other way. He immediately afterwards granted to him and Mr. d'Arpentigny, not only the Post of Saint Mary's \* with an exclusive trade, but a large tract of land en Seigneurie, from the former of which they derived considerable profits and advantages.

MANY were the complaints transmitted to France against Mr. de la Jonquiere. He at length desired his recal, but before his Successor could be appointed, he died at Quebec, on the seventeenth of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two. †

THE Bishop and the Superior of the Jesuits had always found him a strenuous assertor of the King's rights. He maintained the principle that the King was the head of the Church, and that his Majesty was vested with the power to govern it as he thought most expedient. A circumstance happened at this time that gave them great offence. Father Le Tournois' conduct had been such at the Sault Saint Louis, that he thought proper to displace him. The Bishop, as well as the Superior remonstrated with La Jonquiere, denying his right of dis-

\* Between Lakes Huron and Superior.

† Buried in the Recollect Church—On the plate of the Coffin were these words : Cy repose le corps de Messire Jacques Pierre de Taffanell, Marquis de la Jonquiere Baron de Castelnan, Seigneur de Hardarsmagnas et autres lieux, Commandeur de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire St. Louis, Chef d'Escadre des Armées Navales, Gouverneur et Lieutenant General pour le Roy en toute la Nouvelle France, terres et passe de la Louisiane. Décédé à Québec le 17 May 1752, à six heures et demie du soir âgés de 67 ans.

missal or presentation to any living in the Province. De la Jonquiere made no answer to their remonstance, but appointed Mr. de la Bretonnière to succeed him. Le Bretonnière prepared for his departure, and was setting out for the Sault, when he ordered him to remain, acquainting the Bishop that he had changed his mind as to him, and had appointed Father Hocquêt in his place. \*

CHAP.  
V.

THOUGH it cannot be said that the Marquis de Jonquiere was a man of great talents, yet he was possessed of abilities, and in his own profession was always considered an intelligent and excellent officer. He fought many battles, and exhibited both conduct and bravery in every engagement. He amassed while Governor of this Country by commerce alone, more than a million of livres, which at his death, were in the hands of Mr. de Verduc, Clerk to the Superior Council, besides which he had, for many years, sixty thousand livres from his appointments and pension. Yet notwithstanding his riches, his avarice was in many instances, so extreme that he denied himself the common necessities of life. During his last illness, he ordered the wax tapers that were burning in his room, to be changed for tallow candles, observing, that the latter would answer every purpose, and were *less expensive*. Charles Le Moine, Baron de Longueuil, then Governor of Montreal, being next in seniority, he assumed the reins of government until the arrival of a successor.

THIS year two vessels sailed from Quebec with wheat to Marseilles, and it was found merchantable.

CHAP. A Ship of the line, a seventy-four was built at Que-  
V. bec, but was lost, having broke her back, in getting off  
the Stocks at Cape Diamond.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
CANADA.

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CHAPTER VI.

*From the year 1752, to the Siege and Surrender of  
Quebec to the British Arms in 1759.*

THE King of France, on the recal of de la Jonquiere, appointed by Commission on the first of March, \* one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two, the Marquis du Quesne de Menneville, Governor of Canada, Louisiana, Cape Breton, Saint John's, and their dependencies. He was a man of talents, a Captain in the Navy, and Major of Toulon. His manners were austere, and his

CHAP.  
VI.  
1752.

\* Registered at Quebec, 7th August.

CHAP. address was marked with a degree of hauteur that was  
 VI. disgusting.

GALISSIONIERE, who had been the means of his appointment, gave him every information respecting the Colony, and the claims of France as to limits of Canada, and thus instructed, he landed at Quebec in August, where he was received with the usual ceremonies. Persuaded that peace could not be of any long continuance, he directed his attention to the discipline of the troops and militia. He formed the militia of the two cities of Quebec and Montreal into several companies, and at the head of each he placed officers to command them. A company of artillery was attached to the militia of both cities, who were on Sundays and Holidays regularly exercised at the great guns. He reviewed the militia of the Country Parishes, and adopted the plans best calculated to secure the tranquility and safety of the Colony.

THE orders he had received, respecting the limits, were too positive not to be attended to. The boundaries marked out by Galissioniere, were to be insisted on, and Forts to be constructed, to restrict the English Colonies to the Apalachian mountains.

1753. SEVERAL detachments were sent on to the Ohio, the commanders of which were ordered to take post in that Country, and secure the alliance of the Indians by large presents. The Indians early saw that this conduct would provoke a war; and as soon as the French appeared among them, requested that they as well as the English would desist from building any Forts in their Country.

Disregarding, however, their entreaties, both French and English advanced towards each other, and constructed the Forts du Quesne, Necessity, and others. The Marquis du Quesne, who well knew that a rupture was to be expected, pushed on a strong reinforcement under Péan, with presents to the Indians, assuring them that his object was to protect them from the hostile attacks of the English, who, he represented, wished to seize their Country and make them slaves. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, then Governor of Louisiana, was informed by Du Quesne of the step that had been taken, and he was desired to use his influence to induce the Indians under his government to join the French troops on the Ohio. As the preservation of the Upper Country depended on the Fort of his own name, he ordered the intermediate Posts at Machault and Presqu'Isle to be established, and several vessels and boats to be constructed, to facilitate the transportation across the Lakes Ontario and Erie.

To gain intelligence respecting the motions of the Virginians, frequent parties were sent out from Fort du Quesne. One of these, under the command of Jumonville, a French officer, had proceeded but a short distance, when he was met by Lieutenant Colonel Washington, who was then on his march to Fort Necessity. He had no sooner opened to Colonel Washington the object of his mission, to warn the English from taking possession of the Country, than he and several of his party were killed. As soon as Mr. de Contrecoeur was made acquainted with this circumstance, he assembled the Indians near the Fort, and related to them the acti-

CHAP. on that had just taken place. Availing himself of their  
 VI. indignation, and resolved on revenge, he assembled the  
 1754. officers of the garrison, who agreed on the immediate investiture of Fort Necessity. A small number of troops and Indians, were put under the command of Mr. de Villier, a brother of Jumonville, who proceeding with his party to the Fort, compelled Colonel Washington to surrender.

THE Intendant, who was not unapprized of the rumours partly raised against him, for his conduct in the Colony, and at the same time apprehensive that their complaints might get to the royal ear, requested leave of absence, under the pretext of his private affairs. This not having been denied, he had an opportunity of renewing his former friendships with persons in power, and enabled him to frame such a defence as might invalidate any charges that might be preferred against him. During his absence, Mr. Varin, the Commissioner of the Marine, acted as Ordonnateur, and performed all the duties attached to the office of Intendant.

BEFORE his departure he applied to the Marquis du Quesne, for the situation of Commandant of Beau Sejour for an officer of neither talents nor abilities, by the name of de Vergor. His attachment to this officer had astonished every one, and de Vergor's rapid rise from extreme poverty to great riches, gave occasion for loud complaints against his peculation. The Intendant obtained the appointment, and in addition to the command, got him the lucrative post of Commissary. De Vergor had scarcely arrived at Beau Sejour, when he received a letter from the Intendant, which at the same



time that it shewed his own want of principle, developed the horrid system of speculation pursued in this Country. He expressed himself in these words : “ Make as much money as you can from your situation, my dear de Vergor ; the means are in your own hands, that you may be enabled soon to come to France and purchase an estate near me.”\*

CHAP.  
VI.

DE LA MARTINIÈRE, who commanded at Beau Sejour before de Vergor's appointment collected several hundred thousand cords of wood for the use of the garrison, for which the King allowed fifteen livres a cord, while the Commandant and Commissary generally procured it at seven or eight livres. De Vergor, who understood his business, suggested in his report, that the wood provided by La Martinière was rotten and unfit for the use of the garrison. Nothing more became necessary than the drawing up a *procès verbal*, and a certificate of its rottenness. A new supply of wood was immediately ordered, which was charged to the Government at the same price of fifteen livres a cord, which netted no small profit.

THERE were settled near the Fort about eighty Acadian families, who frequently visited Fort Lawrence to purchase such articles as they wanted. These interviews gave the English officers frequent opportunities of conversing with them on the subject of their improper conduct and the unhappy situation they were thrown in, by the intrigues of their Priests. They were too well acquainted, with the miseries they suffered, not to ad-

\* Dated at Quebec, 20th August, 1754.

CHAP. VI. mit the truth of these sentiments, and with a view of returning to their lands, they first presented a memorial to de Vergor, painting in the most lively colours, their hopeless situation : They observed, that it was impossible to live on the lands that were assigned them, and that they wished to return to those that they had left. That their property was suffering from want of attention, and that nothing but misery and wretchedness awaited them. That if leave would not be granted to them to return to their estates, a refusal in writing was requested, that it might remain as a memorial to their children, that the miseries entailed on them, was occasioned by the denial of their request to return, to the Farms they had abandoned. De Vergor, though he had disapproved, on many occasions, le Loutre's conduct, was obliged to consult him on this memorial. The Abbé observed, that if he permitted them to withdraw from their present situation, the Acadians at the other Posts would follow their example, and if he gave them a written refusal, he would clear up a fact, as yet only suspected. De Vergor readily acquiesced in the force of the reasoning, and at the same time, that he refused to give any answer to their memorial, issued an order, that in future, they should not be allowed to visit Fort Lawrence.

In order to supply the King's Stores with the Merchandize and cloathing, necessary for the use of the Acadians, large quantities of these articles were sent from Canada. The persons, whose business it was to take care, that these people should be supplied with what they wanted, seized the merchandize and goods for themselves, and when complaints were made, of

their want of supply, the same articles that had in the first instance been provided by Government, were re-sold to the Crown, at an enormous advance. Large quantities of provisions of every kind, as well as wine, brandy and other liquors had been provided, but immediately on their arrival there, the same scandalous conduct was pursued. The Flour was declared to be damaged, the Wine was said to be mere water, of all which, Procès Verbaux were drawn up, to cover their iniquitous conduct.

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VI.

As soon as Great Britain, was apprized of the action, that had taken place near the Ohio, she resolved on taking the most effectual measures to drive the French from the several posts they occupied, and not only gave orders to her Governors in America to repel force by force, but ordered several regiments from Ireland to assist in this work. France early foresaw that the consequence of this conduct could not fail to bring about a rupture, made the necessary preparations for war, and as the principal scene of it would probably be America, a large fleet was equipped at Brest, under the command of Admiral Bois de la Mothe, on board of which were several old regiments, a considerable supply of ammunition, and all the necessary implements of war. Though no declaration of hostilities had yet taken place, yet the English ministry thought it both wise and prudent to watch the motions of this squadron. In consequence of this resolution, Admiral Boscawen sailed with eleven sail of the line on the twenty-seventh of April from Plymouth.

1755.

THESE fleets arrived nearly at the same time on the

CHAP. VI. Banks of Newfoundland, and fortunately for Mr. de la Mothe, the thick fogs which prevail on that coast, facilitated the escape of all his fleet, except the Alcide, and the Lys, which became easy captures to the Defiance, Captain Andrews, and the Dunkirk, Captain afterwards, Lord Howe. On board of these ships were a number of officers of Engineers, and eight companies of regular troops. Mr. de la Mothe arrived however, a few days after to the no small joy of the Marquis and the Colony. On the news of this capture, De Mirepoix, the French Ambassador was recalled from London, and loud complaints were made against Admiral Boscawen's conduct on the Banks. It was retorted by Great Britain, that the conduct of the French on the Ohio had rendered it both necessary and justifiable. The British Colonies roused from their lethargy, sent reinforcements to General Braddock, who by some unaccountable delay only began his march on the tenth of June, with two thousand two hundred men towards the spot where Colonel Washington had been defeated the preceding year.

ON the resignation of the Marquis du Quesne, who returned into the Marine service, the Marquis de Vaudreuil de Cavagnal was appointed to succeed him by commission,\* as Governor of Canada, Louisiana, Cape Breton, Saint John's, and their dependencies.

MR. de Contreccœur, the commander of the Fort, had early information of the march of English troops, under General Braddock, and sent forward a party consisting of two hundred and fifty Canadians and six hundred and

\* Registered 10th July.

fifty Indians, under the command of de Beaujeu and Dumas to attack the English at the defile, which they were compelled to pass about twelve miles distant from the Fort. Here they waited the arrival of Braddock, who despising all caution, advanced to the very spot where the French and Indians were posted. At noon, on the ninth of July, the French gave a general discharge of their musquetry on the van of the English, which instantly fell back on the main body. These being panic struck and in the utmost confusion, fled with the greatest precipitation. Braddock behaved with great courage, and notwithstanding he was deserted by the greater part of his troops, yet with those that remained he again formed and advanced to an unsuccessful attack as before. At this moment he was mortally wounded ;\* and the troops dispirited by the loss of their general, the contest immediately turned into a disorderly flight. The loss amounted to near seven hundred men, and many valuable officers. All the ammunition, artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the French, as well as the general's plans and instructions, and an exact draught of the Fort. De Beaujeu, de la Pérade and Cornevall, officers of the Marine Corps, and about thirty Canadians and Indians were killed, and about the same number wounded.

THE English army instead of fortifying themselves after the retreat, in case the late success of the French might have induced them to have penetrated into Virginia, left a few troops at Fort Cumberland, and marched with the rest, amounting to one thousand six hundred

\* He died 13th July.

CHAP. men on the second of August, to Philadelphia, from  
 VI. whence they were soon after shipped to Albany by order of General Shirley, on whom the chief command on Braddock's death, devolved. Notwithstanding the late misfortune near Fort du Quesne, the northern Colonies so far from being dispirited, set on foot two expeditions, one under the command of General Shirley, and the other under the command of General Johnson. Johnson on the eighth of August set out for Lake George, where General Lyman, with six thousand Provincials, had arrived. Here he took post on very strong ground, surrounded with thick woods, Lake George in his rear, and with a breast work in front, of felled trees. As soon as it was known that this army had marched from Albany, and that the object of General Johnson, was to attack Crown Point, Baron Dieskau, a brave and experienced officer, was dispatched with three thousand men, composed of regulars, marine troops and Canadians to oppose him. On his arrival at Crown Point he divided his army, and after leaving one half at this place, marched on by the way of South Bay, and at length arrived in sight of the English entrenchments at Lake George. At half past eleven o'clock of the morning of the eighth of September, the Baron marched in regular order towards Johnson's centre, and when within one hundred and fifty yards, made his grand and centre attack with a heavy platoon firing, while the Canadians and Indians dispersed on the flanks, kept up an irregular fire. The engagement soon became general on both sides; the French regulars kept their ground and order with great resolution, till overpowered by the warm and constant fire of the English; they then made a movement to the right of

Johnson's encampment, and though a body of Canadians had advanced as a reinforcement, yet they could not again be brought into action. The French troops no longer able to sustain the fire of the English, retreated at four in the afternoon in the most precipitate manner. Their loss is stated at one thousand men, killed, wounded and prisoners, among whom was the Baron, who was severely wounded. The remains of the French army made the best of their way to Crown Point. The English had one hundred and twenty-six men killed, ninety-four wounded, and sixty missing.

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As soon as the news of this victory reached England, the King applauded General Johnson's bravery, created him a Baronet, and gratified him with a donation of five thousand pounds sterling.

THE expedition under general Shirley went on so slowly, that he did not leave Albany before the end of July, and only arrived at Oswego in August. Here the General waited for the supplies of provisions, which by some mismanagement did not reach him until the end of September, when it was thought too late to undertake the expedition to Niagara. After leaving a garrison of about seven hundred men at Oswego, he returned on the twenty-fourth of October to Albany.

THE Colony for two years past had been thrown into the most distressing situation from the want of provisions and grain : the inhabitants of the Country, constantly employed in parties against the English Colonies, had not time to cultivate their lands, and though the

**CHAP.** scarcity of grain had long been made known to the Go-  
**VI.** vernment of the Country, yet the creatures and friends  
 of the Intendant\* were allowed to ship off vast quantities of wheat to the West India Islands, to the manifest injury of the people of the Colony. The price of provisions increased most enormously, and the commerce of the Country daily diminished. The flattering hopes that had been entertained of the new Governor, whose exertions it was expected, would have been directed to the promotion and prosperity of the Colony were but short lived. The people early saw, that instead of relief they were to be the more oppressed, by the sanction he gave to the measures of a Company, who swallowed up every thing. Flour was an article much wanted at this time, and vast quantities of grain had been purchased from the farmers by the Company, who as soon as they had procured the quantity they wanted, the Intendant issued an Ordinance, fixing the price at an enormous advance, and then re-purchased the article for Government, to enrich the Company. The Company, notwithstanding the clamours of the people, kept up the price of their flour, and availing themselves of the scarcity, sold what was not wanted by Government at an enhanced price. After amassing much property in this way, they built several vessels, which were through the interest of the Intendant taken into the government service at an immense annual charge. Complaints were made to the Intendant, which through the intrigues of these gentlemen, were never attended to. The Intendant, on the contrary, was assured by them that the want of supply was occasioned by the farmers in the

\* The Intendant returned in the Spring 1755.



Country, who kept up the price of grain for a greater profit, and they advised him to issue orders for a search in the Country, and compel the inhabitants to furnish the necessary supplies for the city and for the subsistence of the troops. Bigot, who had entered into all their nefarious plots, drew up an estimate of the quantity of provisions wanted, and Cadet and his Clerks over-run the whole Country, and those farmers who would not sell their wheat at the low price fixed by the Intendant's ordinance issued for that purpose, had their property seized and the grain taken away without any remuneration. Loud complaints were preferred against Cadet, but as the Intendant would not hear what they had to say, they were turned over to one of the Company in particular, who in league with the rest, threatened them with imprisonment if they dared to utter further complaints. Bread of course also became an article extremely scarce, and to regulate the issuing of it, the Intendant appointed certain persons to distribute it. The flour was purchased at the Company's stores. At the particular hour fixed for the distribution, the people assembled at the different baker's doors, and such was their eagerness for that necessary article, that they snatched the loaf from each other's hands. The supply not being sufficient for their wants, many ran to Mr. Bigot, to implore his compassion, but he was not to be moved either by the entreaties of mothers or the cries of their children. He was surrounded by a set of flatterers, who, on leaving his abundant and elegant repasts, could not be persuaded that the complaints of the people ought to be attended to, or that they were in a starving condition.

CHAP. VI. THE Company, also built a large Store House near the Intendant's Palace at Quebec, which was supplied with a large quantity of goods. A Clerk by the name of Clavery had charge of it. The object of the Company, in having this store was the supplying the articles wanted by Government. The Intendant, every Autumn, sent to France an estimate of the goods wanted for the use of Government, and as he was concerned with these gentlemen, he took good care, never to send for a sufficient quantity, that he might purchase the deficiency from the Company, at whatever price they chose to demand. As the Intendant was determined to enrich these gentlemen, no goods were purchased but from them, and their profits by the monopoly were immense. It was this conduct, that could not escape the animadversion of the people, that induced them to call the new store, "La Friponne."\*

IF the citizens of Quebec were in distress, those of Montreal did not suffer less. Though the necessities of life were not so dear, yet goods and merchandize of all kinds were still more difficult to be procured. Varin the Commissary of the Marine, and Martel the Storekeeper had monopolized every thing. The Commissary, like the rest of the public depredators, employed every means of enriching himself. The posts above Montreal, of which he had the supply, opened a wide door for making money, and as it was necessary to form a coalition with the Storekeeper General, they employed certain agents the better to conceal their own iniquitous conduct. The boats were not allowed to go to the

\* Or the Cheating House.

Upper Country without paying them so large a sum of money, that it soon ruined those that attempted it. The trade to these Posts in a very short time, became confined to these gentlemen, and the Intendant annually purchased from them the goods wanted for Government out of a similar Store house built at Montreal, and also called there, "La Friponne."

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THE vessels which went to Miramichi to carry provisions to the Acadians, returned loaded with these unhappy people, who far from finding that protection and assistance at Quebec, experienced every neglect and possible calamity. The Intendant, to throw money into Cadet's way, gave him charge of them, and he, unmoved by compassion, and steeled against every sentiment of humanity, instead of furnishing them with wholesome beef, provided them with nothing but horse flesh. Many of these fell victims to his want of feeling and to his insatiable avarice.

As Madame P——n had a Seigneurie still unsettled near Quebec, many of these people were offered lands in it, and those that agreed to settle on it experienced great indulgence, and were supplied with money and provisions by the Intendant's order; on the other hand, those that preferred other Seigneuries, on account of soil and other advantages were refused the smallest indulgence. This gave occasion to the saying, "That this lady had obtained in her Contract of Concession a mortgage on the King's Exchequer for the settlement of her Seigneurie." Mr. de Vaudreuil, the Governor, with the same view as to his private interest, furnished

CHAP. the Acadians with money and provisions, to induce  
 VI. them to settle on his Seigneurie.

1756. THE Marquis having learnt that the English Colonists had built a number of small forts on the route to Oswego for their greater safety in transporting provisions to that place, and that they had it in design to build vessels there, to obtain the command of Lake Ontario, and by that means to cut off the communication with the French Posts in the Upper Country, ordered a detachment, consisting of two hundred and fifty-nine regulars and Canadians, and eighty Indians, under the command of Mr. Chaussegros de Léry,\* lieutenant of the Marine Corps, to repair to Montreal; from whence they marched on the seventeenth of March. After traversing an immense wilderness and undergoing great hardships, they came before a small picketed fort, in which was posted Lieutenant Bull with only twenty five men. Mr. de Léry having posted the Indians in such a way as to prevent a surprize, and having made every disposition for the attack, summoned the English officer to surrender. On his refusing to comply, a furious attack was made on the Fort, and after a gallant resistance by the garrison, it at length was carried, and the greater part of the garrison were put to the sword by the Indians, whose savage barbarity could not be repressed. The Fort was then blown up, and the powder and ammunition were thrown into the river.

As it was of importance to have an officer in the command of Fort du Quesne esteemed by the Indians, Mr. de Contreccœur was recalled to give place to Mr. Du-

\* Son of the celebrated Engineer.

mas, who had distinguished himself at the attack on General Braddock. Dumas frequently collected parties of Indians and sent them into Pennsylvania, where they spread horror and devastation with an undistinguishing hand. De Celeron, who commanded at Detroit, was equally successful in gaining over the Indians near that Post to the French interest, and had he continued, would have been of great service in promoting the views of the French Government: disgusted and dissatisfied, he requested his recall, and his successor, Mr. de Mery, a Captain in the Colony troops, equally unfortunate in not being on good terms with the merchants and people of Detroit, gladly quitted the command of that place.

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THE Marquis de Vaudreuil was fully apprized of the danger of permitting the English to hold possession of Oswego, where they were every day strengthening themselves and building vessels to secure the command of Lake Ontario. To reduce this Fort, was an object of too much importance to be neglected, and an expedition was framed for its reduction. Mr. de Villier Captain in the Marine Corps and a brother of Jumonville who had been killed on the Ohio, was charged with this expedition. He had under his command three hundred men, and proceeded with them to within a short distance of Oswego, where he constructed a small stockaded Fort, so completely surrounded with thick woods as not to be perceived by the boatmen from Albany, who were frequently intercepted by parties from this post, and the provisions destined for Oswego, taken. The Five nations, apprized of the designs of the French,

CHAP. VI. and apprehensive that the reduction of that Fort would pave the way to hostile irruptions in their Country, held a Council, to which was invited Sir William Johnson, for whose opinion they entertained the highest respect. Johnson assured them that the best course to be pursued, was to prevent, if possible, the attack of that place by the French, and by that means avert a war that might deluge the frontiers with blood. Thirty deputies were immediately dispatched, and on their arrival at Montreal a Council was called, at which the Governor was present : after passing some handsome compliments on the Marquis de Vaudreuil's general conduct, one of the Chiefs observed, that if the Five Nations had not taken part with their brothers the French, it was not owing to any bad motives, but that as a nation, it was their decided interest to preserve the strictest neutrality, and that they hoped, if Ononthio entertained the same good will that had been shown on many occasions towards them, they begged he would not shut up the road from Montreal to Oswego. The Governor in his answer refused their request, and observed, that the custom of his warriors was to seek out the enemy and bring them to battle wherever they could find them ; but that if they promised not to join the English, he would give orders for their protection from every insult ; after receiving a large quantity of presents, they were dismissed.

WHILE these transactions were going on at Montreal, there arrived a large body of troops, under three brave and experienced officers, Major General Marquis de Montcalm, Brigadier le Chevalier de Levi and Colonel de Bourlemaque. As it was necessary to concert with

the Marquis de Vaudreuil, then at Montreal, on the operation of the campaign, Montcalm remained but a few days at Quebec. He highly approved of the Governor's conduct in pushing forward troops for the investiture of Oswego, and orders were given by him to reinforce those that had been sent, with the newly arrived troops from France. Montcalm, after making such arrangements as appeared necessary, proceeded on to Frontenac, where he remained until reinforced by the troops from Quebec, under the command of Colonel Bourlemaque. Three regiments that had been sent from Quebec at length arrived at Montreal, where Montcalm had collected a large body of Canadians and Indians. He ordered two armed vessels to block up Oswego, and sent off Indian scouts to cut off the communication with Albany. Montcalm in person proceeded on with the first division on the fourth of August, and on the sixth arrived in the Bay of Niauouare, whither he was followed two days after by the second division of troops, with the artillery and provisions. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor of Three Rivers, who had under his command a large body of Canadians, was detached as a van guard, and proceeded on the seventh of August to within nine miles of Oswego, where the first division arrived on the tenth; the van guard went on through the woods to within one mile and a half of Oswego in order to favor the debarkation of the main army; the first division of which arrived on the tenth at night, and were followed by the second division, which disembarked on the twelfth of August, at midnight. The Marquis having made his dispositions, opened his trenches befort Fort Ontario.

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THE fire of the garrison was well kept up from break of day till six in the evening, when it entirely ceased. The garrison having expended all their ammunition, spiked their cannon and retreated to Oswego Fort. As soon as this movement was perceived, the Marquis ordered a strong party to take possession of it, who finding many of the cannon yet serviceable, fired on the other fort without intermission. The fire from the several batteries soon effected a breach in the walls of the Fort, and Mercer, the chief in command being killed, the besieged offered to capitulate on condition of being prisoners of war, exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal and treated with humanity. Notwithstanding these conditions the Indians were allowed to plunder the English of their clothes, many of them were massacred, and even the sick were scalped in the hospitals. The French lost Mr. Descombes, an Engineer, with forty men killed and wounded ; among the latter were Colonel Bourlamaque and Captains Parmarol and Parquêt of the regiment de la Sarre. The English lost one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded. They took at Oswego seven armed vessels, from eight to eighteen guns each, two hundred batteaux, a number of pieces of artillery and a vast quantity of warlike stores and provisions. The colours of the regiments that were taken were hung up as trophies in the churches of Montreal, Quebec, and Three Rivers.

THE English prisoners, amounting to twelve hundred men, were conveyed to Montreal, where they were treated with every attention, and before the end of the year, exchanged. The important advantage the Marquis had just gained, added greatly to the reputation he



had already acquired ; and the spirits of the Canadians were as much elated with this success, as the English Colonies were depressed at the loss of such an important magazine. After demolishing the Fort at Oswego, the Marquis returned with his troops to Montreal, where they remained during the winter.

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LATE in the Autumn several vessels arrived at Quebec, with many of the Acadian families, who not wishing to remain any longer at Miramichi, expected to be provided for in Canada. They were charged with a representation to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to assure him, that they were not the cause of the surrender of Beausejour, as had been stated by Mr. de Vergor, and that their attachment to France could not be better proved, than their declining the favorable overtures made them by the English government. Their deputies observed in their memorial to the Governor, that they were in the most distressed situation, that they had the melancholy prospect of increased miseries, unless he afforded them his assistance and protection : that their unhappy lot could not but excite commiseration and pity, persecuted by the English, and deprived of an assylum, they appeared as if nature herself destined them as objects of peculiar vengeance : that the cause of their distress was their attachment to France, which the English had never been able to force them to renounce : that brought up by their fathers in sentiments of attachment to the King, whose goodness they had so often experienced, they would be wanting to themselves and to their religion, did they accede to what the English required of them, particularly at a time when France was making struggles to be revenged : that the inhabitants of

CHAP. VI. Minas, Beau Bassin and other villages were either dispersed in the woods or prisoners among the English, and only wished to be revenged, and again to come under the dominion of a King, become dearer to them from the protection he had on all occasions afforded them : that their wretched situation, and their constant refusal to obey the English spoke loud in their favor, particularly when it was known that they, to the number of three thousand five hundred settled at Miramichi, had left their Country in consequence of their attachment to the King's Government, and were now reduced to such a state as to solicit a supply of provisions to prevent them from starving, and that they wished that a proper person might be appointed to superintend the settlement, and to make an equitable distribution of what provisions might be sent them from Canada, as the Mickmac Indians were not only extremely troublesome, but committed great depredations on all occasions.

THEY finished their memorial, with a request that no difference in point of protection might be made between them and the King's other subjects. Abbé M——, who had charge of these people succeeded Father La G——, a Recollect, better known by the nick name of Captain John. This Missionary, who had nothing of his profession, but his cloth, kept a large store and regularly supplied it with goods brought from Quebec, by his own sloop, navigated by himself. He soon acquired a considerable sum of money, with which he maintained a lady in great stile, to the reproach of himself and scandal of his profession. In a few years after, he requested leave to return to France, where he at length quitted his profession and became secularized. Abbé Menack, had

been a missionary at Bay Verte, and had made himself extremely odious by his intermeddling disposition.

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THE harvest in the District of Quebec, was by no means so abundant as was expected, and in many parts of the Country had entirely failed. Owing to this circumstance, and to the want of those succours in provisions that had been expected from France, which had not yet arrived, every article rose in its value most amazingly. Flour readily sold for one hundred and thirty livres the hundred weight, and the Intendant fixed the price of beef at six sôus per pound, to relieve the poorer classes of the people.

MANY of the Acadians, who had come to Quebec, brought with them paper bills which were presented to Mr. Bigot, to be discharged. The Intendant who wished to conceal from the eyes of the court, the enormous expenditure of the public money put off the payment, until he had drawn the bills of exchange for the year. The necessities of these people prompted them to any exchange, however detrimental to their interests, and as Bigot's Secretary, who besides being connected with the treasurer and was himself receiver of the tax imposed on the citizens of Quebec for Barracks, always had specie at command, these poor people addressed themselves to him and gladly suffered a deduction of one third or one half, according to their wants. This business he carried on to a considerable extent and much to his profit and advantage, as his connection with Bigot rendered the payment of these paper bills to their full value, no difficult measure.

CHAP. VI. As vast difficulties attended the supply of the provisions necessary for the King's troops, and for the subsistence of the Inhabitants of the Colony, Bigot proposed to the Government, the appointment of a Commissary General, who should engage to procure provisions from France, for the King's troops, and leave the Colony to provide for its own consumption. Cadet had been recommended by the Intendant, for this important post, and on the first of January one thousand seven hundred and fifty seven, was put in orders as Commissary General. Bigot, on his appointment taking place, sent instructions to the store keepers at the different posts, directing them, to give an inventory of the provisions then at the several stations into the hands of the Commissary General's Clerks, and to make no distribution, but with their orders or those of the commanding officer of the post. That the commanding officers should draw on the Storekeeper, who would give a Bon on the Commissary, to be examined and compared every three months, with those given by the commandant. The quantity of provisions delivered was regulated and compared by the Commissary who was charged with all the necessary expences, except the batteaux for transporting the provisions, which were provided by Government; and he was directed not to furnish any rations to his Clerks or Engagés. Cadet as soon as this arrangement had taken place, made a demand of a million of livres, which were immediately paid him; and in order to avail himself of his appointment as rapidly and as profitably as possible, he took into his office as Clerk, a person whose character had been such that he had been dismissed from the service of a merchant, who had discovered his nefarious practices.

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THE supplies for the troops in the District of Montréal and for those of the Upper Posts were intrusted to the management of two persons ; one assumed the title of Inspector and the other that of Treasurer ; and as visiting the Posts was a part of the duty of the Inspector, he made a tour to them all, in order to keep in employ only those Storekeepers most friendly to his purposes. Many were displaced for their probity, and others provided for, from their docility. And as it was of the utmost importance to be on the best possible terms with the Commandants of the several Posts, presents were made them in money, wine and brandy. As the Government was obliged to supply these Posts with rations and liquors, the articles furnished by the Crown were constantly diminished, and new applications were repeatedly made for an additional supply. The mode practised was this : to suppress the quantity in their possession, in order that the provisions stated to be wanted for the subsistence of the garrisons and then in the hands of the Inspector, might be re-sold to the Crown at an enormous advance. As the fitting out of the troops and militia was too great an object to be neglected, an application was made to give this appointment to Péan. This was easily brought about by the Intendant, who procured for him the supplying the Posts in the Upper Country, with an authority to take out of the public stores whatever he might want.

THE inhabitants of Quebec still experienced great distress for the want of bread ; wheat was very scarce in the country, and the price fixed by the Intendant at six livres per bushel was conceived not sufficient by the far-

CHAP. VI. mers, who would not sell their grain but at more advanced prices. Cadet, who well knew that large quantities of wheat were concealed in the country, proposed to Bigot to seize it, who immediately issued orders that no more wheat should be brought to or ground at any of the mills in the Province. A number of Clerks were charged with these orders, who went into the country and carried them into execution, with the exception of the mills of those persons whom the Company was disposed to indulge. A large supply of wheat was of course easily procured, and Cadet, who had occasioned the increased scarcity, re-sold the wheat again at a considerable advance. Bigot's Secretary and several of those that had been sent out with him, sold their proportion of wheat at twenty-four livres a bushel, by which they all acquired a considerable profit.

THE sum of eighty thousand livres, which had been granted for the supply of the Acadians during Galissiniere's administration, had notwithstanding the capture of Beausejour been continued to them, and as this sum was well worth attention, Mr. Bigot sent for form's sake, a Storekeeper, and Cadet, a Clerk, with a large supply of goods and other articles. The Storekeeper was charged not to carry on any commerce, and to purchase nothing on the King's account, but to take what he wanted from the Commissary General's Clerk, and to give receipts for what he was furnished with. To insure success it was necessary to give a certain gratuity to the Superintendent, and the Company readily allowed the Commandant a considerable profit. The Commissary's Clerk by this means got into his hands all the mo-

ney allowed by the Crown, and on the articles furnished to the Acadians, he received immense profits.

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IN consequence of orders from France, which directed Mr. de Vaudreuil to defend the frontiers of the Colony and to act on the offensive, when it could be done to advantage, he sent forward during the winter several detachments of Canadians and Indians to scour the Country on the borders of the English Colonies. One of these parties had penetrated beyond Lake Champlain and returned with intelligence, that the English were busy in fortifying Fort George on the farther end of the Lake of that name, and had collected a vast quantity of ammunition and provisions at that place. The governor held a consultation with Montcalm on this subject, and their joint opinion was to attack it, before the works were complete, and a large body of troops collected there. As no time was to be lost, the Marquis ordered a detachment composed of one hundred and fifty regulars, three hundred colony troops, six hundred and fifty Canadians and four hundred Indians, amounting in all to fifteen hundred men, to be ready for this expedition. These troops were commanded by Mr. Rigaud de Vaudreuil,\* who had for his second the Chevalier de Longueil the King's Lieutenant of Quebec. The former, who was brother to the Governor General, was distinguished as a man of an excellent character and of a benevolent disposition, and though not possessed of great talents, was considered as a good

\* The Governors Particuliers had the rank of Colonels, and the Lieutenants du Roi, of Lieutenant Colonels, and took rank according to the dates of their Commissions.

CHAP. officer desirous of promoting the glory of his Sovereign.  
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THE instructions Rigaud received before his departure, were to attack the Fort at Lake George by Escalade, and that in case of a repulse, to set fire to the bateaux, stores and buildings that were near it. Ponlarié was directed to obey Mr. Rigaud's orders, and to keep up a good understanding between the King's and the other troops, and on the event of a Council of War being called, if he should differ with him in opinion, he was directed to state his reasons in writing. Every necessary measure having been taken, Rigaud marched with his detachment from Montreal, and on the seventeenth of March encamped behind a mountain within a league and a half of Fort George. On the succeeding day, Ponlarié, Dumas, and Le Mercier went to reconnoitre the Fort, and returned with information, that it would not be difficult to attack the Fort by Escalade, there being one face of the works against which ladders could be placed. The General therefore determined, if possible, to take the garrison by surprize, and the detachment in the night of the nineteenth, approached the Fort with as little noise as possible. When, however, within a short distance of it, from the noise that was made, it was soon perceived that the English were



apprized of their approach and the whole garrison were under arms. Rigaud's design of surprizing the garrison being defeated, he invested the Fort on the twentieth, and the men were employed in collecting fascines, while a body of Indians were posted on the road to Fort Edward to cut off the communication with Albany. The next day the Commandant of the Fort was summoned to surrender, by Mr. le Mercier, but he refused to comply, declaring his intention to defend it to the last extremity. Rigaud, not finding it so easy to take the Fort, contented himself with burning thirty batteaux, sloops, three Storehouses full of provisions and the hospital, besides other houses about the Fort. While this was doing, the garrison kept up a heavy fire; but being too weak to make sorties, and being done in the night time, the French received but little obstruction in carrying into effect their devastations.

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THE Governor, by means of his brother, who had returned to Montreal with his detachment, received every information respecting the Fort, and applauded his brother's conduct, in destroying the batteaux and other boats on Lake George, convinced as he was that the progress of the English army would be impeded, should they propose an attempt on Ticonderoga or Crown Point. To put the French Forts at these two places in a respectable state of defence, Mr. de Bourlemaque with two battalions was sent on to continue the works, and to take possession of the communication between the two Lakes. At the same time Captain Pouchot was sent to Niagara as Commandant, with orders to fortify that place in the best possible manner. By this gentleman an invitation was sent to the Indians of the Upper Lakes to desire

CHAP. VI. their attendance at a Grand Council to be held at Montreal : they came down attended by their Chiefs, and at a meeting that was held at that city, the Governor observed, that he hoped that as they well knew the late success that had crowned his Majesty's arms, they would attend to what he had to say, and have no communication or intercourse with the English. That they had built a Fort on the ground of their Fathers, which he had received orders to destroy, and that he hoped they would join in the enterprize. To this speech they made answer, that they had hearkened to his speech with a decided determination to obey his pleasure. As a mark of the Governor's approbation, they were, before their return home loaded with presents.

A large body of troops and militia of the province had in consequence of orders rendezvoused at Saint John's, and as this was an opportunity not to be slighted, P—— availed him of his public situation, and made a vast deal of money in consequence of it. He had engaged to transport the provisions necessary for the subsistence of the troops at this post, and he was provided with the King's batteaux for which he was accountable at the end of the year. He engaged to provide the men necessary to navigate these boats, and to victual them; and in case of loss or damage he was liable for the boats themselves, or for any repairs they might want. The Storekeeper at Saint John's was to give his receipt for what he received, and according to these vouchers, the Contractors were paid. The rate for transportation was fixed at five livres, per quintal, from Saint Ours to Chambly, and from the latter place to Saint John's, four livres. Every large batteau was to be allowed at

the rate of fifteen livres, and every smaller one, at twelve livres, each. The articles that were wanted at S. John's, were embarked at Montreal, and in lieu of hired men, militia were ordered to navigate the boats as far as Sorel, where others were procured by the command of the officer there, to conduct them to Chambly or Saint John's. The inhabitants of the Country, preferred undertaking the service, gratis, rather than to be obliged to remain a whole campaign from their families and property, so that the expence of transporting the provisions and the necessary supplies for the army, was saved to the Contractor, who took what was allowed by the arrangements that had been made, and without expence. Independant of this mode of sending on the provisions, whenever any detachments of troops were sent to the Posts, the Contractors took care to load the King's boats with the provisions they were to transport at their own expence, and by this saved a great deal of money. It is impossible to conceive the robberies that were committed during these voyages, and when the articles were delivered at the King's Stores at the different Posts, the invoices, instead of containing a true return, exceeded by much the quantity received. So well was it understood, that every one was to have his share, as well officers, as clerks and inhabitants. They were not content with pillaging the King's property, but even stripped off the rigging and carried away Stores belonging to the batteaux, and then demanded payment for what they declared they had lost. Many of the officers, on expeditions, availed themselves of every opportunity of making money, and took care to demand for their detachments such a quantity of provisions and

CHAP VI. stores as to have a considerable surplus, which they readily applied to their own advantage and emolument.

THOUGH the Contractors were paid for their services in conducting detachments and provisions to the different posts, yet, they on all occasions took care to have a quantity of articles on their own account, for which they charged government, and which were regularly paid. As a number of troops were constantly passing through Saint John's to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Government was charged as much for a small detachment consisting of one hundred men, as had been formerly charged for the transportation of six hundred soldiers. Cadet built large Storehouses, and he and his clerks were lodged in capital houses, and lived, both expensively and in great stile.

THE Chevalier de Lévi, who commanded at Saint John's, at length received orders on the third of July, to proceed up Lake Champlain, to join the Marquis de Montcalm, who was then at Ticonderoga, making every preparation for crossing over Lake George. The army on the fifth of August, landed on the other side of it, and immediately invested it, when a letter was sent by the Marquis de Montcalm, to Colonel Munro, the commandant, importing that he had a numerous army, a powerful train of artillery a large body of Indians, whose excesses and cruelties, could as yet be restrained, as at that moment, none of them had been killed. That it was to no purpose to pretend to defend the Fort, in hopes of relief, as the precautions he had taken, would prevent any assistance being given him, and that a deci-

sive answer was demanded, to the message sent by Sieur de Funtbrune, his Aide de Camp.

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IN answer to this peremptory summons, Colonel Munro observed, that he with scorn and disdain rejected his proposal, and that he would defend the Fort and the entrenchments while he had a man alive to fire a gun. Munro's resolution was supported by the persuasion, that as General Webb was at a short distance from him with four thousand men, he would attack and compel Montcalm to raise the siege, and throw succours into garrison. General Webb's supineness astonished Montcalm as much as it did Munro, and the former eager to take advantage of his indifference to assist Munro, redoubled his efforts against the Fort. The garrison, however, returned the fire with great bravery, and having burst the greater part of their cannon, expended all their ammunition, and without any hopes of assistance, Colonel Munro proposed to capitulate, to which Montcalm readily consented. Hostages were exchanged, and the articles of capitulation signed on the ninth August. The garrison in consideration of their gallant defence, were to march out with the honors of war ; they were to have an escort of five hundred men to protect them from the barbarities of the Indians, and were to be conducted to the next English Fort. The Indians to the number of nineteen hundred, who had followed the army, were promised the plunder of the Fort. The garrison, instead of marching out on the day of the capitulation, postponed it till the succeeding one : when the Indians beheld the English marching out with their arms and baggage, they declared, that

CHAP VI. what they were carrying off had been promised to them. Determined to be recompensed for having joined in this expedition, they allowed the English troops to arrive at a certain place on the route to Fort Edward, best calculated to carry into effect their barbarous intentions, when nineteen hundred Savages fell on them with the most horrid shrieks, tomahawking and murdering these helpless people with an undistinguishing hand.

WHETHER the Marquis de Montcalm was really assiduous to have these articles punctually executed, we cannot pretend to determine, but certain it is, that they were perfidiously broken in almost every instance. It had long been the policy of the Government of this Country to court the Indians, in order to take advantage of the assistance they might give in the hour of danger. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, who had always entertained a high opinion of the utility of these people, allowed them to commit every excess, and many are the instances where the inhabitants of the Colony have suffered from their insults and threats, and though repeated complaints had been made, the Governor, apprehensive of losing their assistance at so critical a moment, refused to administer any redress.

As the taking of the Fort at Lake George was an object of importance, the Marquis de Vaudreuil communicated this information by the first vessels, and wrote to the Ministry of France, to know the intentions of Government, as to the further operations for the defence of the Colony. The Marquis de Montcalm also wrote to Vaudreuil, and stated what he conceived necessary for the protection of the Country. He observed in his

letter, " That the Colony wanted troops, provisions, ar-  
tillery and every kind of warlike stores : that it was the  
duty of the Intendant to make the provision the second  
article required, as he was best acquainted with the si-  
tuation of the Colony in that respect : that a second  
company of the Royal Artillery should be sent out, with  
the necessary number of officers attached to them : that  
the companies of Marine should be reduced to fifty men  
each, with an augmentation of officers to command the  
different detachments of Canadians and Indians : that  
with regard to the troops, the eight companies drafted  
from le Regiment of la Reine and Languedoc, should  
be incorporated and be commanded by the eight oldest  
Lieutenants, with the rank of Captains, if the senior of-  
ficers can be dismissed, as was done after the battle of  
Placentia, in Italy : that the seventy-two companies of  
the King's troops should be completed to forty-five men  
per company, which would be an addition of three hun-  
dred and sixty men to the whole, and to make a requi-  
sition for three hundred highland fusiliers of Rousillon.  
While these things were executing near Lake George,  
Mr. de Lignières, who commanded at Fort du Quesne,  
excited the Indians to make frequent irruptions in the  
English Colonies, where they spread horror and devas-  
tation ; nor was Mr. de Bellêstre, who commanded at  
Detroit, less active in carrying on the same warfare.  
Many parties were sent from that garrison with num-  
bers of Indians, who harrassed the back settlements of  
Pennsylvania and New York.

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THE misery experienced by the Acadians at Mirami-  
chi, instead of diminishing, daily encreased. The sup-

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ply of provisions which was furnished them, consisted of salt or dry cod fish, often times perfectly rotten, and of course not eatable. Every thing that was of the worst kind was purchased at Quebec and sent to them, and none dared to complain. Some times they got a supply of fresh meat by sending out their young men, near Beausejour, who found a few cows and oxen browsing in the woods, which they killed and brought to the sea shore, and at length to their settlements. The quantity thus acquired, as it may be readily supposed, was but a very scanty one. The Commissary was, however, regularly paid, though he did not furnish half as much as had been first required. Though a vast many of these unhappy people had died for the want of proper supplies, yet the same number was always represented to be in existence, that more money might be made. Bigot shared in the booty, with the Storekeeper who had in his possession in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, many of the Intendant's bills and orders which were approved of by him and were regularly passed and paid.

MR. Estebe, who had been for a considerable length of time Storekeeper General at Quebec, and one of the Council, resigned his appointment on going to France, and was succeeded by Mr. de Clavery, whose usefulness in promoting the views of the Company was the foundation of his promotion. He held this place however but eight months, when he died.

UPON the Comptroller Breard's return to France, Mr. de V——, who had merely been a Clerk in the Marine Department, frequently applied to succeed him ;



though this appointment could not be so easily accomplished, yet he was allowed to do the duty, and still entertained hopes of ultimately succeeding to that situation. As Mr. Varin had gone with the Comptroller to France on leave, it was necessary to appoint a person to execute the duty, and Mr. Martel was immediately sent to Montreal as his deputy.

At length de V—— succeeded to the situation he wished, and the choice the Ministry of France made, was the more exceptionable as he was a man of the most insatiable avarice, and extremely deceitful. He became by his appointment sole master of the finances of the Country, and he took care to make money whenever he had an opportunity. He soon became the grand support of the Company and managed their affairs so well, that they made large sums of money, he receiving a large share in the management of their concerns.

THE Intendant, who had made a large fortune, wished his property to be vested in a landed estate in France, and as he could not yet obtain leave of absence for himself he got it for Péan, who he sent to France, and was desired to purchase for him an estate there. He was directed to send over to this Country early in the ensuing spring, a large quantity of merchandize on account of the Company, and as the Intendant was to direct what quantity was wanting for the use of the King, he took care that there should always be a deficiency, in order that what was wanted might be supplied by the Company, at an immense advance. The officers who were to command at the different Posts, and who had a right to trade with the Indians, received their

CHAP. supply of goods from their stores on condition that the  
 VI. Company should have a share in the profits. Wherever  
 these detachments were ordered, the boats of the Company loaded with goods, accompanied them; and that every expence might be saved, the Government ordered the King's troops and Canadians to navigate them. Even the presents that were sent up for the Indians were frequently seized by the Storekeepers at the several posts in consequence of an order of the Intendant and re-sold to the Crown.

THE example shown by the Company to the commanding officers of the Posts, also led several of them into the wicked system of cheating the Government. Under pretext of supplies of goods for the Indians, they made frequent and large demands, which were no sooner received, than converted to their own private emolument. They were not merely satisfied with this robbery, but they gave certificates for large sums of money for articles never furnished, and so well was the business understood between the parties concerned, that they were no sooner presented for payment, than regularly discharged. An officer that commanded at Mississimackinac, a step son of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who had been sent there to make his fortune, gave a certificate for articles never furnished that post, for which he charged the government, ten millions of livres and which when presented, was paid by the Intendant's order at Quebec. From this source arose that immense quantity of paper money, which was spread throughout the Colony, and of which there remained at the conquest, unsatisfied, not less than eighty millions of livres;

without bringing into computation the bills that had been drawn upon the government of France.

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THE supplies of provisions, that arrived from France, were extremely scanty, and both meat and bread, got up to such a price, that loud clamours were justly raised against the government. It was also owing to this scarcity of provisions, that the army could only take the field until late in the year, with a view of watching the motions of the English.

EARLY in the summer of this year, the Marquis de Vaudreuil received certain intelligence, that a large body of English troops, under the command of General Abercrombie, was collected at Albany, with a view of making an attack on Ticonderoga. To secure that important Fortress, was an object too important to be neglected, and having collected a considerable body of troops, they were sent on to Ticonderoga, where they arrived on the twentieth of June. The Marquis de Montcalm, on the first of July, sent forward Mr. de Bourlamaque, with the regiments de la Reine, Guienne and Bearn, while he advanced with those of La Sarre, Royal Roussillon, Languedoc and the second battalion of Berry, as far as the Falls, where he encamped. The second battalion of Berry and several companies of Canadians, were left as a garrison for that Fort. The next day, Mr. de Bourlamaque, reconnoitered the mountains to the left of the camp, and formed two companies of volunteers, under the command of Captains de Bernard and Duprât, of the regiments of Bearn and de La Sarre, who were sent forward to gain intelligence of the approach of the English army, then at the further end of Lake George.

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CHAP. On the fifth of July, a signal was made by one of these  
 VI. parties, that the English army was embarked, and on its  
 way down the Lake. The English army, consisted of  
 seven thousand regulars and ten thousand provincials :  
 They embarked on Lake George, on the fourth of  
 July, and with the necessary Artillery disembarked next  
 day and formed in three columns. As soon as this in-  
 telligence was made known, Mr. de Bourlamaque de-  
 tached Captain de Trépezé, with three hundred men,  
 to watch their motions, and to prevent their landing.

On the sixth, the advanced guard of the English was perceived, and on their approach to the carrying place, Boulamaque retreated to Montcalm, who had taken possession of the heights, and where the chief engineer de Pont Le Roy, had thrown up entrenchments and had formed a strong abbatis with felled timber. On the retreat of Bourlamaque, who had been hard pressed by the English, a French detachment lost their way, which the English under Lord Howe encountered, when the French were routed with considerable loss, several men were killed and one hundred and forty-eight taken prisoners, including five officers. This petty advantage was dearly bought with the loss of Lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, unspeakably regretted as a young nobleman of the most promising talents.\*

ON the morning of the eighth of July the whole garrison was ordered under arms, the Regiments de la Reine, Bearn and Guienne were posted on the right,

\* The Province of Massachusetts, erected a monument to his memory, in Westminster Abbey.

and the Regiments de la Sarre, Languedoc and two strong picquets on the left. The centre was composed of the Regiments of Berry, Rousillon and the Picquets of Mr. de Levi. The Volunteers attached to the army took possession of the open wood between the river and the falls. The Colony troops and Canadians were posted in the entrenchments on the plains towards Fort Saint Frederick, supported by a corps de reserve. The right was commanded by Chevalier de Levi; the left by Mr. Bourlamaque, and the centre by the Marquis de Montcalm. These dispositions having been made, the army waited with impatience the arrival of the English, who moving on in four columns, began a furious attack against the works, to the astonishment and admiration of the French troops. The English column, composed of Grenadiers and Highlanders supported a charge for three hours with the utmost gallantry, under the most discouraging circumstances. General Abercrombie at length perceived that there was no hope of success, and in order to prevent a total defeat, took measures for the retreat of the army, which retired unmolested to their former camp, with the loss of eighteen hundred men killed and wounded, including a great number of officers. General Abercrombie unwilling to stay in the neighbourhood of the French army, retired to his batteaux, and reembarking his troops, returned to the camp at Lake George. The French state their loss in this action at four hundred and fifty men killed and wounded among whom there was no less than thirty-eight officers. Mr. de Bourlamaque was severely wounded, but afterwards recovered. The conduct of the Marquis de Montcalm, excited much praise. The disposition and

CHAP. arrangement he made, shewed his judgment and talents  
 VI. as an officer, and gained him the approbation of his Sovereign and thanks of his Country.

As the late victory, it was thought, would have no inconsiderable effect on the conduct of the Five Nations, whose neutrality at least it was the utmost consequence to secure, the Chevalier de Longueil \* was sent on this important mission. To pave the way for a good reception, presents to a very considerable amount were forwarded on, and a message having been sent to them, to inform them of his arrival at Oswego, a grand council was convened there on the tenth August, when Mr. de Longueil informed them of the late victory, and made every exertion to induce them to join the French interest and not to hearken to any overtures from the English. This speech had in some measure the desired effect, as they in their answer assured him of their attachment, and that as all the deputies were not present, they would communicate to the several tribes, what he had then related, in order that the sentiments of the Five Nations might be communicated to the Marquis de Vaudreuil. The council being over, presents were distributed, after which the Chevalier set out on his return to Montreal; having passed a day at Frontinac, on his way down, the Chevalier communicated to Mr. Payen de Noyan, who was commandant of this Post, the intimation he had received that the English under Colonel Bradstreet meditated an attack on his garrison: De Noyan took every means for defence, desir-

\* On the death of the Baron de Longueil, Mr. Rigaud de Vaudreuil was promoted to the government of Montreal, and he was succeeded by the Chevalier de Longueil in that of Three Rivers.

ing the Chevalier at the same time to request the Governor General to send up a reinforcement, as soon as possible. De Vaudreuil, however, paid no attention to De Noyan's request, and being left in this hopeless situation, he was little able to defend himself against the attack of Bradstreet, who crossing the Saint Lawrence on the twenty-fifth of August, with three thousand Provincials, threw up works within five hundred yards of the Fort: Bradstreet perceiving the distance too great to do much execution, took possession of an old entrenchment nearer the Fort, which he battered with such effect, that in the course of three days, de Noyan and his garrison of one hundred and twenty men were made prisoners of war. After destroying the Fort and many other buildings, Bradstreet re-crossed the St. Lawrence on his return to Albany. Before, however, the capture of the Fort was known, the Marquis dispatched one thousand five hundred militia, under the command of Mr. du Plessis FABIOT, Major of Montreal, who had proceeded no farther than La Chine, and received information that Bradstreet had quitted it, a smaller party was sent forward, with orders to rebuild it under the direction of Mr. de Pont le Roy the chief engineer. At the same time another reinforcement was pushed on under the command of Captain de Montigni, to strengthen the garrison of Niagara, and give assistance to Mr. de Lignieres at Fort du Quesne, if assistance should be wanted there.

THE necessity of announcing to the Court of France the loss of Frontenac, was matter of much anxiety to Mr. de Vaudreuil; but that that loss had been occasioned by his neglect to forward the re-inforcement that had been called for, he was determined not to acknowledge. It appeared to him that he had no means of exculpating himself, but to throw the whole blame upon de Noyan. To prevent him, therefore, from giving his

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own statement of facts, de Vaudreuil proposed to explain, himself, the entire transaction to the Court ; undertaking to make such a representation of it, as could not fail entirely to clear de Noyan from all imputation of blame.

DE NOYAN was too easily persuaded to hearken to this proposal ; and blindly fell into the snare that was laid for him : while Vaudreuil, unmindful alike of truth, and honour, placed upon him the whole weight of responsibility ; ascribing, without scruple, the loss of the Fort, to his pusillanimity alone !

To find himself the dupe of a palpable artifice, and to have incurred the censure of cowardice, where he really deserved the praise of bravery, were circumstances of mortification, and of injustice that sunk too deeply into the mind of de Noyan, to allow him to remain a single moment in the service, beyond that in which they came to his knowledge. He demanded redress, indeed, from the Government of France, but met only with injurious neglect. He retired, in disgust, from public life ; but not without the best balm for wounded feelings,—the approbation of his own conscience.

THE reduction of Fort Frontenac, as might naturally have been expected, brought forward an expedition against Fort du Quesne. Brigadier General Forbes had marched the latter end of July from Philadelphia, and penetrated within ninety miles of that Fort. When arrived there, he sent forward Colonel Bouquet with two thousand men fifty miles in advance, who detached Major Grant to reconnoitre and gain intelligence. The French party had early intelligence of all these manœuvres ; and lying in ambush, attacked the Major and his party, routed them, made three hundred prisoners, and with them



brought the Major himself to the Fort. General Forbes, far from being dispirited with this check, advanced to within a short distance of the Fort, when he received advice, that the French, so far from defending it, had already deserted it. The General immediately advanced, took possession of it, changed the name to that of Pitt, and soon after returned to Philadelphia. The loss of this Post, and the general conduct of the English army in America, left no doubt in the Marquis's mind, that the object of the English Ministry was the annihilation of the French power in America. To defend the Country from the attack expected the next year, he conceived the measure best calculated for that effect, was to send forth a proclamation\* and order, directed to the several Captains of Militia, pointing out the conduct they were to pursue. He observed in it, that the situation in which the Colony was thrown, notwithstanding the great advantages that had been obtained, was perilous; and the more so, as the knowledge of the extent of their designs both by sea and land, sufficiently demonstrated the necessity of the most efficacious measures to oppose those armaments as soon as the season of the year would allow them to act. That no time therefore ought to be lost in making the necessary preparations on which depended the safety of the Colony: He then directed that the men, from the age of sixteen to sixty years should be enrolled in the Militia, and be in readiness to march at a moment's warning. In consequence of these orders, the Captains of Militia complied with these instructions to the fullest extent: but as the government took off the Farmers to

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\* Dated 24th December, 1758.

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make Soldiers, the Country of course suffered for want of hands to cultivate their lands. The harvest had been by no means an abundant one, and the levies of grain made by Government, had rendered wheat extremely scarce. Though the Intendant had fixed the price at twelve sols the minot or bushel, yet none was sold for less than from thirty-six to forty livres, per bushel. As the Commissary's Clerks were held in detestation, no supply could be had, which induced the Intendant to apply to the Judge of the Court at Montreal, who had the management of granting licences for taverns in that district: as the course to obtain them was generally known, every man with his petition, presented the Judge's mistress, either with a sum of money, or a present of wine. His conduct in his judicial capacity gave occasion to strong suspicions as to his integrity on the bench, and he was more than once severely reprimanded by the Sovereign Council. He frequently made visits to the different parishes on the Island of Montreal, and set a price on the grain of the inhabitants, taking good care to secure for himself the quantity he wanted, out of what was required for government.

Though the farmers were compelled within that district to supply specific quantities, according to their respective abilities, they, to indemnify themselves for the loss they sustained, cheated as much as they could, not only in respect to quality, but quantity. These forced levies, in addition to the general waste, naturally increased the price not only of wheat, but of all other provisions, and the Intendant finding it difficult to get a supply, the troops were sent during the winter to the Country, where they were quartered on the inhabitants. The

officers of the army also represented, that from the CHAP. VI. dearness of living, they could not subsist on their pay, and requested an augmentation, which the Intendant readily granted, by giving an additional allowance to Captains of forty livres a month, and thirty livres to the Subalterns. The misery and distress of the Colony for want of provisions was at length so great, that the Intendant ordered Cadet, the Commissary General, to kill horses, both for the subsistence of the inhabitants and troops in the cities of Quebec and Montreal.\* The scarcity at length grew so alarming, that Mr. de Vaudreuil and Marquis de Montcalm resolved on sending an officer to France, with a faithful detail of the deplorable situation of the Colony, and pointing out the succours wanted for its relief. This officer, though he sailed very late in the autumn, arrived safe in France.

EARLY in the month of January, a census of all the 1759. inhabitants was taken in the three governments or districts of the Colony. The number of men capable of bearing arms, from the age of sixteen to sixty, in that of Quebec, amounted to seven thousand five hundred and eleven; in that of Montreal, six thousand four hundred and five; and in that of Three Rivers, one thousand three hundred and thirteen, making an aggregate, of fifteen thousand two hundred and twenty-nine men. The Marquis de Montcalm, apprized of the necessity of putting the garrisons of the Colony in the best possible state of defence, employed troops and militia, to complete the fortifications, directing at the same time the building of three armed vessels, in order to secure the

\* Memoire pour Mr. Bigot, contre Mr. Moreau le Procureur Général, Accusateur.

CHAP. VI. command of Lake Champlain. As the works at Niagara had been also much neglected, Captain Pouchot of the Regiment of Bearn, who besides being a man of talents, was an excellent Engineer, was sent to fortify it, and to command there. While these arrangements were making, the Governor received from the Court of France by de Bougainville, \* who arrived on the fourteenth May, certain intelligence that the design of the English Government was to attack the Colony both by sea and land. De Vaudreuil was ordered to make the best disposition he could to defend the Country. As a preliminary step, he wrote a circular letter on the twentieth of May, to the Captains of Militia throughout the Colony, ordering them to have their companies in readiness to march at a moment's warning, each man to be provided with six day's provisions. An officer to each company was to be detained, to take charge of the old men, invalids and the sick.

HE then observed, " This campaign will afford the Canadians an opportunity of signaling themselves. His Majesty well knows the confidence I have in them, and I have not failed to inform him of their services. His Majesty trusts they will make those efforts that are to be looked for from the most faithful subjects, more particularly as they have to defend their religion, their wives and their property from the cruel treatment to be expected from the English.

\* Bougainville brought with him the new promotions. The Marquis de Vaudreuil was made Grand Croix de St. Louis. The Marquis de Montcalm, a Commandeur, with the rank of Lieutenant General; De Levi, Major General; De Bourlemaque and Sennezergues, Brigadiers; Dumas, Major General and Inspector General of the Marine, and Mr. de Bougainville, Colonel in the French army.'

WITH respect to myself, I am resolved not to consent to any capitulation, in hopes that this resolution may have the most ruinous consequences to the English. It is most indubitable, that it would be more merciful for the inhabitants, their wives and children, to be buried under the ruins of the Colony, than to fall into the hands of the English.

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IT being highly necessary that the most prudent precautions should be taken to prevent a surprize, I have established beacons from post to post, along the South Shore, below Point Levi, to be set fire to as soon as the enemy are discovered.

WE promise every protection to the inhabitants, their wives, children and property, to prevent their falling into the hands of the English, who would make them suffer the same hardships and miseries experienced by the Acadians. In addition to which, we have the testimony of their late ill conduct, in their treatment of the inhabitants of Cape Breton,\* notwithstanding the capitulation, as well as those of the Island of Saint John.

THEIR hatred is so well known towards every thing that is Canadian, that they even make them responsible for the cruelties of a few Indians, still forgetting the measures we have taken to prevent a repetition of these actions, and the good treatment which the nation has at all times shown to them when prisoners.

\* Louisburg and the Island of St. John had been taken by General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen the year before.

CHAP. VI. WE have a real satisfaction in declaring that we entertain no apprehensions for the safety of the Colony, yet we shall adopt the most efficacious measures, for securing to the inhabitants, their rights and property."

AN order was issued a few days after this, that the militia of Kamouraska should come up to Point Levi : those of the Island of Orleans were directed to cross over to the North Shore, and the militia above Quebec, were ordered to come down by companies with a month's provisions. Particular spots were also fixed on in the woods for the old men, women and children and the cattle to retire to, on the first intelligence of the approach of the English fleet. That their approach might be known as early as possible, three signal posts were established, and put under the direction of three officers. The chief post was at Isle du Portage, assigned to Mr. De Lery ; the second, on a height near Kamouraska, commanded by Mr. de Montesson, and the third, at the Island of Orleans, under the direction of Mr. de Lanaudiere.

BESIDES these arrangements, a grand Council of War was assembled at Montreal, to concert measures for the general defence of the Colony, on the event of an attack on different parts of the country at the same time. These dispositions became the more necessary, as intelligence had been received, that General Wolfe's army, consisting of twenty thousand men, were to ascend the river, that of General Amherst, composed of thirty thousand men, by the way of Lake Champlain, and another army of six thousand men by Oswego. The Council of War after frequent meetings, came

to these resolutions : That a body of troops, under the command of the Marquis de Montcalm, with two other General Officers, the Marquis de Levi and Brigadier Sennezerres, should be posted at Quebec. That Bourlamaque should proceed to Carillon (Ticonderoga) with directions to blow up the works, and to retire down the Lake in case of the approach of the English, to the Isle au Noix, and there to make a stand, to prevent their advancing into the Country : that the small Forts at Pointe au Baril and at la Presentation should be abandoned, as not capable of any defence, but that a body of troops should be posted at the head of the Rapids, and that they should be strongly entrenched. The Chevalier de la Corne, was chosen for this service, and took with him eight hundred men, composed of King's troops and militia.

THESE resolutions were immediately put into execution, and the Marquis de Montcalm, on his arrival at Quebec, used his best exertions and influence, to induce the Canadians to be hearty in the cause : He issued an order, that all troops and militia in garrison, should be employed in throwing up the entrenchments at Beauport, but as he was apprehensive, they would not be complete before the arrival of the English, he ordered de Lévi, who commanded in the government of Montreal, to send on eighteen hundred militia, to assist at these works. To put the city in the best state of defence, was an object to which he directed his attention : He ordered that the communication between the upper and lower town opposite the Bishop's Palace should be secured by a strong picketting, and a platform raised, on

CHAP. which cannon were mounted, to range along the street.

VI. The battery behind the Bishop's Palace extended still farther than it had been, was joined to a strong picketting which run along the brow of the hill, almost as far as the Intendant's Palace. Several batteries were erected for the defence of the lower town, and all the avenues from the river were barricaded; Saint Rock and the Intendant's Palace, were surrounded with a picketting and defended by small batteries. Opposite to the Palace, were sunk two vessels in the river Saint Charles, on which there was a raised work and battery of heavy cannon, a redoubt was erected, near the Ford, where there was a communication across the Saint Charles by a bridge of boats. The militia of the city of Quebec were divided into several companies, and they were ordered to be in readiness to act at the shortest notice. A party of the Colony troops under the command of Mr. de Vaudain, Lieutenant of marine, had charge of the batteries in the lower town. A floating battery of eighteen guns was constructed and several fire ships were provided to annoy the English shipping. A small corps of cavalry was formed, and the command was given to Mr. de la Roche Beaucourt, Aide de Camp to the Marquis de Montcalm. To embarrass as much as possible, the English fleet, on its way up; the buoys and other marks for the navigation up the river, were all taken up.

THE Bishop of Canada on the eighteenth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, issued his mandate in these words :



HENRY MARY DUBRIL DE PONT BRIANT, by the mercy of God, and the Grace of the Holy See, Bishop of Quebec, Counsellor to the King in all his Councils ;—To the Secular and Regular Clergy, and to all the faithful of our Diocese, salvation and blessing in our Lord Jesus Christ.

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“ You are not unacquainted, my very dear brethren, with the immense preparations of the enemy, the designs formed to attack the Colony in four different parts, the number of their regular troops and militia, six times at least superior to ours. Neither are you ignorant that they have sent emissaries to all the Indian nations to incite them to forsake us, and to rouse those to take up arms against us who are willing to preserve a kind of neutrality. You are sensible, moreover, that they occupy those harbours at the lower end of our river, which hitherto we have regarded as so many barriers ; you perceive every incitement to fear and terror, and you are undoubtedly astonished thereat. The uncertainty of the affairs of Europe, the many dangers to which the succours we expect, are exposed, the numerous fleets destined for our destruction ; the general scarcity that prevails of every thing necessary for our defence as well as our subsistence even in Peace, ought naturally to make the greatest impression on our minds. But what ought still to be the cause of the greatest chagrin, is the little zeal for piety observed every where, the injurious and wicked speeches maintained against those in whom we ought to place all our confidence ; and what may still create further fear in us, are the profane diversions to which we are addicted with greater attachment than ever ; the insufferable excesses of the games of chance ; the impious hypocrisy in derision or ra-

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ther in contempt of religion ; the various crimes against Heaven, that have been multiplied in the course of this winter ; all these, my brethren, ought to make us dread every thing, and oblige me to declare to you, that God himself is enraged, that his arm is prepared to chastise us, and in fact, that we deserve it. Yea, my friends, we tell it, in the face of the altars and in the bitterness of our heart, that it is not the number of the enemy, nor their utmost efforts that affright us, and make us reflect on the impending disasters both on the state and on religion, but our manifold sins and wickednesses. Eighteen years have now elapsed, since the Lord called us, though unworthy, to watch over this extensive diocese ; we have frequently seen you suffer by famine, by diseases, and almost continual war. Nevertheless, this year it appears to us, is in all respects, the most afflictive and deplorable, because in reality we are most criminal. Were there ever such open robberies, so many heinous acts of injustice, such shameful rapines heard of ? Who has not seen, in this Colony, families devoted publicly, if I may say so, to crimes of the most odious nature ? Whoever beheld so many abominations ? In almost all ranks the contagion is nearly universal ; however, my brethren, matters are not yet remediless, neither are our misfortunes irretrievable. The Christian faith teaches us that a true and sincere conversion can stop the avenging hand of Divine justice, and that it even hath frequently stayed it. It is true the disease is great, but the remedy is in your own power. *O faithless Jerusalem, return to your God : and God according to his promise, will deign to relent !* Atone, my dear brethren, I say, atone speedily for the past, by tears of a sincere repentance ; they will be acceptable to

the merciful heart of God, who never punishes his creatures but with regret. Dear children, be diligent therein, sympathize with the ministers of the altar in weeping, wailing and prayer. Implore the Lord with fervency to enlighten sinners with the misery of their souls, that he will affect and convert them ; we mean those of our brethren who run to their own destruction ; dread, least you find yourselves involved in their calamities ; and ye, O ! sinners, we beseech you in the name of Jesus Christ, at least be no hindrance to the blessings we ask for you ; come rather, we conjure you by all that is capable of affecting you ; come and solicit them of your own accord, with a spirit full of meekness and contrition. For these purposes, after conferring with our respectable Brethren the Canons of our Cathedral Church, having invoked the Holy name of God, we have ordered and do hereby order, the due performance of the services herein directed. Imprimis. In the country Parishes, on the first Sunday of every month, shall be a procession, without the host or sacrament, to the place and at the hour each of the Rectors shall appoint. In that procession shall be sung the litanies of the Saints, then the Psalm *Miserere mei Deus* ; and immediately after the ancient and common prayers of salutation, the Priest shall make an honourable atonement in the name of sinners, which he may find in the Ritual for Trinity Sunday. Secondly—Every secular and regular Priest, shall add to the prayers of the mass, the prayer of the missal *Deus Refugium*. Thirdly—In all the benedictions of the holy sacrament shall be sung the tract, *Domine non secundum*, with the versicles and prayer for the remission of sins. Fourthly—In the different Churches of Quebec, namely : The Cathedral, the church of La Victoire

CHAP. VI. in the lower town, the Seminary, the College of the Je-  
 suits, that of the Recollects and Ursulines, shall be per-  
 formed alternately, a Nona or Ninth : The holy mass  
 shall be celebrated at seven o'clock in the morning,  
 the litanies of the Saints, and the psalm, *Miserere mei  
 Deus* ; shall be sung thereat, an honourable atonement  
 shall be made for sinners and the whole concluded  
 with the benediction of the Sacrament, in the holy Cha-  
 lice only : On the working days, the votive masses of  
 the Holy Angels, of the Holy Trinity, of the Holy  
 Cross, of the Virgin Mary, for all necessities, for times  
 of war and for peace, shall be said reciprocally. The  
 mass of the patron of the church or chapel shall be said :  
 First, at the Jesuits of Saint François Xavier, in the  
 lower town at Ste. Genevieve, at the Ursulines, and at  
 the Seminary instituted for the conversion of the Indians.  
 What is prescribed for Quebec, shall be observed as  
 much as possible at Montreal and at Three Rivers ; the  
 camps and forts shall also observe what is appointed for  
 the Country Parishes. This mandate shall be read after  
 the gospel of the mass of the parish on the first Sunday,  
 immediately after the receipt thereof."

In the month of May, the Council of war held for the  
 purpose of considering the best means for defending the  
 Colony in the event of an attack, reported a table of re-  
 gulations. General dispositions for opposing the in-  
 vasion of the British forces, from the river Saint Charles  
 to the Cataract of Montmorenci, and likewise for  
 retiring behind the said river in case they should be  
 forced in the descent, to defend the same : The order  
 of battle and the manner of fighting to be observed in  
 the whole course of the campaign. The order of battle


was this : The brigade of Quebec, composed of three thousand five hundred men, commanded by Mr. St. Ours, shall encamp on the right : The brigade of Three-Rivers, composed of nine hundred and twenty men, commanded by Mr. de Borme, shall also encamp on the right and to the left of the Quebec brigade ; the land forces\* consisting of two thousand regulars, under the command of Brigadier Senezergues, shall encamp in the centre. The Montreal militia, amounting to eleven hundred and fifty men, commanded by Mr. Prudhomme, shall encamp on the left of the land forces, and the brigade of the Island of Montreal, consisting of two thousand three hundred men, commanded by Mr. Herbin, shall form the left of the line. The reserve shall be composed of the cavalry, (three hundred and fifty) light troops, (select men from the Colony troops with some volunteers from Acadia, one thousand four hundred) and savages four hundred and fifty, (in all two thousand two hundred,) commanded by Mr. Boishebert. The artillery, stores and provisions under the direction of Mr. Mercier, shall encamp as well as the reserve in the places most suitable, and which shall be appointed for them. The Quebec militia, composed of six hundred and fifty men shall be left in a garrison commanded by the King's Lieutenant, Mr. de Ramsay. The two royal frigates shall be unrigged and grounded in the entrance of St. Charles' river, in such manner as to render them serviceable for the defence thereof, and the adjoining shores ; the vessels appointed to fight piratically in the Bay, shall be equipped by the disarming of other vessels ; and as

\* To distinguish between the battalions of French regulars and the independent companies of marines or Colony troops.

CHAP. VI. those vessels shall happen to become useless, their crews must repair to the town, to assist at the batteries which shall be appointed for them beforehand. Mr. Vauguelin, Commodore of the bay, shall have the direction of all floats, galliots and other craft, in order to employ them as he shall think most advantageous, consistantly with the exigence of affairs : he shall give his orders to all the Marine department, and must be very attentive that the crews and their officers shall be precisely at the places destined for them. As Mr. de Ramsay cannot give his orders at one and the same time, throughout the whole town, there will be a necessity for appointing a particular Commandant for the Lower Town, who shall nevertheless be subject to the command of the said Lieutenant, and shall act in concert with him in like manner as the officers of the Ordnance and Artillery.

THE disposition for opposing the descent was this :— The Garrison left to its own force and that of the marine : the army shall pass the River Saint Charles : the right, composed of the brigades of Quebec and Three Rivers Governments shall encamp on the plain, from the Canardiere redoubt to that at the mouth of the river Beauport. Those two brigades shall intrench the front of their camp in order to cover them from the English cannon. The land troops forming the centre of the army, shall encamp on the eminences of Beauport, and along the high road on the rivulet of that village. The left composed of the brigades of the city and government of Montreal, shall encamp to the left of Beauport Church, and extend themselves along the summit of the grand scarp or ridge of highland, along the coast of that village or parish. The reserve composed of the

cavalry, light troops and Indians, shall be posted even to the Cascade of Montmorenci, and spread its right along the said scarp in order to join the left of the line. The army in this position shall intrench its intire front, to shelter them from the enemy's cannon ; also the places that shall appear most proper to serve as communications with the main body, and where the enemy may make the greatest efforts, must be fortified. As there is reason to think that the enemy will divide their attacks, we ought also to put ourselves on our guard, so as to be able to unite and fall with superior force on such of their corps as shall be most advanced and which shall appear most liable to be beaten with advantage ; it cannot be prescribed what shall be done at that instant ; the whole will depend on circumstances and the manner we shall be attacked in : it must be left to the discretion of the commanders to exert their utmost abilities in repelling the enemy; without exposing themselves to an entire overthrow, for want of a secure retreat, a sufficient guard must be left at the head of the bridge to furnish the redoubts from the rivulet of Beauport to the Canardiere, with such a number of men as shall be judged necessary to prevent being taken suddenly sword in hand. Precautions should also be taken, for retiring with safety, in case the army should be obliged to give way, and as to the cannon in the redoubts, it will be necessary to be provided with spikes to nail them up, lest it should not be possible to bring them off with us. In our situation, this is the only position we can take *daring and military*. There is no room to suppose that the enemy will attempt to pass before the town and land at the jettée, whilst the frigates remain there ; there is nothing to ap-

CHAP. VI. prehend in that quarter. If the enemy attack us with superior force, it is to be feared notwithstanding our best efforts, they will rout us at landing, because of the great extent of ground we have to defend, above two leagues in length, and seeing it may be conjectured they will join their principal attack between Beauport river and Montmorenci, it is to be suspected, lest by drawing our forces thither, they will change their attack, and land between Beauport and the Canardiere, where finding only a feeble resistance, they may then effectually cut off our retreat from the post on the river Saint Charles ; but if the enemy as there is room to think, should make their descent at the entrance of the river Beauport, and the reserve should be forced to retire along the skirt of the woods by the high road leading from Montmorenci to Charlesbourg, then the said reserve shall post itself behind the rivulet of Beauport, at the entrance of the wood, and by fording it there, turn its left towards the forest above Mr. Duchesnay's mill, and extend its right to the redoubts on the bank of the river ; in this position the army will be able to observe the enemy's motions, and have it in their power to retard their operations ; but the post is good for nothing except in the front upon the bank or scarp of the main river, because as soon as the enemy shall possess our left and have routed the reserve, it will be no longer tenable, and our forces will be obliged to withdraw behind the river Saint Charles. In that case, the redoubts on the side of the river must be evacuated, and the army retire in two columns by the Pontoon Bridge over the little river ; the reserve shall return by Charlesbourg, and if it is briskly pressed, it shall continue its retreat by the high road leading to Lorette, observing to halt at the first defile, to check the



ardour of the pursuers. The most advantageous event for us, will be the enemy's not landing, except from the river Saint Charles to that of Beauport, because in such a case, we shall employ all our forces to attack them, but if notwithstanding our utmost efforts, we have the misfortune to be repulsed, the army shall incline to the bridge and repass the river Saint Charles. The reserve shall also retire to Charlesbourg by the upper road leading thereto. If the army should be compelled to retreat behind the river Saint Charles; it shall encamp its right to the bridge and extend its left as far as possible; the country must be occupied by different posts up to Mr. Cadet's farm, and the whole will intrench themselves as securely as possible to the town. It will be of the last importance for the safety of the Colony to defend this position, which is our *ultimatum* for preventing Quebec falling into the enemy's hands; for it is certain if we should have the misfortune to be over powered or routed there, the Colony is irrecoverable; and if we should lose the town before the expiration of the month of August, it is to be apprehended, that having so powerful an enemy to contend with, they will follow us into the heart of the country, and by commanding the navigation of the river endeavour to effect a junction with the armies that are to descend by the Lakes Champlain and Ontario. In fine it is incumbent on us to exert our most strenuous efforts to defend and preserve Quebec, or at least to retard the reduction of it as long as possible, because it is evident, that the fate of the Colony will depend entirely upon that of its capital,

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To furnish the army with provisions was a measure of absolute and imperious necessity, and as there was but

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of raising a supply, borrowed cash on his own credit and paid specie instead of giving his paper drafts: he sent orders to Montreal, that all the wheat and flour that could be had should also be purchased up for the use of the troops. Mr. Dechambault came forward with his money in the most handsome manner, and went in person through the parishes to purchase up wheat and flour for the troops. As the Intendant no longer had fixed a price on these articles by Ordinance, he gave orders that it should be purchased at the market price, and paid generally from fifteen to twenty livres per bushel. The Intendant also sent circular letters to the Curés in the Country, to beg them to dispose of what they had received as tythes, and to use their influence with their Parishioners to sell their grain at that price. The people aware of the scarcity, and looking forward to an increased price, could not be persuaded to dispose of their wheat, and prevented Government getting a large supply. Notwithstanding these exertions, the Government procured a very small supply, 'which induced the Intendant to write again to Mr. Martel at Montreal, to consult with Mr. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, that the most effectual measures might be taken to get in the harvest, and to compel the inhabitants to thrash out the wheat as speedily as possible. Rigaud, eager to promote the public service, ordered a detachment of troops to each Parish to assist in complying with these orders.

THE army which had been sent on to Niagara, under the command of the English General Prideaux, arrived there, early in July. Pouchot who commanded the garrison, and who had obtained early intelligence of his ap-

proach, sent a Courier to De Lignieres at Fort le Bœuf with orders to rejoin him, and at the same time dispatched another to Frontenac, that the Government might be informed of the probability of being attacked, and to procure a reinforcement to his garrison.

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ON the arrival of the English army before the Fort, a summons was sent to Pouchot, ordering him to surrender. This he refused to do, observing that the garrison was brave, and the Fort strong, and that the longer he defended it, the greater would be the esteem of the English Commander. The siege was then commenced in regular form, and it was carried on with great vigour until the twentieth of July, when the English General was killed by the bursting of a cohorn : Notwithstanding this misfortune, his place was ably supported by Sir William Johnson, who prosecuted the plan first adopted by the General. While Johnson was busily employed in prosecuting the siege, a considerable force, composed of twelve hundred men, collected from Detroit, Venango, Presqu'isle, and Le Bœuf, under the command of Mr. D'Aubry and De Lignieres, appeared at some distance from the Fort. On the twenty-third of July, D'Aubry sent a letter to Pouchot announcing his arrival, and assuring him that he would attack the English, in hopes of compelling them to raise the siege. Sir William was no sooner apprized of D'Aubry's approach than he offered him battle, and after a conflict of an hour, ended in a total defeat of the French party. There were several French men killed and wounded, and all their officers, amounting to seventeen : among those who were made prisoners, were De Lignieres and Marin, and others of less note. As early as possible af-

CHAP. VI. ter this defeat, Sir William sent Major Harvey to Mr. Pouchot, announcing the rout of the French party, and exhorting him to save the effusion of blood and to surrender his post. Pouchot could not be persuaded of the truth of this disaster, and begged that an officer of his own might be allowed to see D'Aubry, or some of the prisoners. This was readily assented to, and on the return of the officer, Pouchot offered to capitulate. Articles were signed on the twenty-fifth of July, and the Garrison, consisting of six hundred men, marched out with the honors of war.\*

THE loss of this post was the source of much anxiety, particularly as it compelled the government to evacuate several of the smaller posts dependent upon it, and by its capture, cut off the communication with Detroit, which was without the possibility of relief.

THE summer was far advanced, when General Amherst reached Ticonderoga, where, instead of meeting with opposition, he found the place abandoned, in consequence of the orders Mr. Hebecourt had received to retreat from place to place, towards the centre of operations near Quebec. Hebecourt first retired to Crown Point, and at length to Isle aux Noix, where Bourlamaque had thrown up works, and had a garrison of three thousand two hundred and sixty-five men. General Amherst finding Crown Point also abandoned, proceeded on with his army to that place; and on the fourth of August, landed at the Fort, where the troops were encamped. Here General Amherst laid the foun-

\* Sir William Johnson's official letter to General Amherst, dated 25th July, 1759.

dation of a new Fort, which was to be maintained for the future security of the British dominions in that part of the Country.

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HAVING received information that the French had four armed vessels on Lake Champlain, manned with detachments of different regiments, under the command and direction of Mr. Bolabarras, a Captain in the French Navy, assisted by other Sea officers, he ordered Captain Loring to superintend the building of vessels at Ticonderoga, and to construct, with all possible expedition, a sloop of sixteen guns, a batteau to carry six large cannon, and a brigantine. When these vessels were ready, the General embarked his troops in batteaux, and on the eleventh of October, proceeded down the Lake. The weather, however, growing tempestuous, the troops were landed for refreshment, when Captain Loring with his small squadron gave chase to one of the Schooners. The French captain, conceiving himself not equal to the contest, run his vessel up a large bay, where it was destroyed, and being abandoned by the crew, they escaped through the woods, having suffered much for want of provisions. After being several days wind bound, he again embarked his army, but the storm, which had abated, beginning again to blow, and the season for action nearly spent, he returned on the twenty-first of October to Crown Point, where he employed all his attention in raising the new fortress.

ABOUT the middle of February a considerable squadron sailed from England for Cape Breton, under the command of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gen-

CHAP. tlemen of worth and probity, who had on several oc-  
 VI. casions signalized their courage in the service of their  
 country. By the twenty-first day of April they were  
 in sight of Louisbourg, but the harbour was blockaded  
 up with the ice in such manner, that they were obliged  
 to bear away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. From hence  
 Rear Admiral Durell was detached with a small squa-  
 dron, to sail up the River Saint Lawrence, as far as the  
 Island of Coudres, in order to intercept any supplies  
 from France intended for Quebec ; he accordingly took  
 two store ships, but he was anticipated by seventeen  
 sail of ships loaded with provisions, stores, and some  
 recruits, under convoy of three frigates which had al-  
 ready reached the capital of Canada. Meanwhile Ad-  
 miral Saunders arrived at Louisburg ; and the troops  
 being embarked, to the number of eight thousand, pro-  
 ceeded up the river. The operations at landing were  
 intrusted to the conduct of Major General Wolfe, whose  
 talents had shone with superior lustre at the siege of  
 Louisburg ; and his subordinates in command were the  
 Brigadiers Moncton, Townshend and Murray ; all four  
 in the flower of their age, who had studied the military  
 art with equal eagerness and proficiency, and though  
 young in years, were old in experience. The first was  
 a soldier by descent, the son of Major General Wolfe,  
 a veteran officer of acknowledged capacity ; the other  
 three resembled each other not only in years, qualifica-  
 tions and station, but also in family rank, all three being  
 sons of noblemen.

THE armament intended for Quebec, sailed up the  
 River Saint Lawrence without having met with any in-  
 terruption, or having perceived any of those difficulties

and perils with which it had been reported that the navigation of it was attended. Their good fortune indeed, in this particular, was owing to some excellent charts of the river, which had been found in vessels taken from the French.

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A signal was at length made that the English fleet was seen off Bic, steering up the river, and a second one announced their arrival on the nineteenth of June, at the Island aux Coudres.\* The Canadians still flattered themselves that the fleet would run aground and ultimately be lost, as the navigation of the River from that Island was attended with the utmost difficulty. But when their safe arrival at the Island of Orleans was announced, the people disconsolate and in despair, fled to the churches to offer up their prayers for the preservation of the Colony.

ON the twenty-seventh of June, the land forces were disembarked in two divisions upon the Isle of Orleans, where General Wolfe, had no sooner landed, than he distributed a manifesto, among the French Colonists,

\* Upon the van of Admiral Durell's Squadron having appeared under French colours, expresses were sent up to Quebec with the joyful tidings; for the French expected some promised succours from France, and the greatest imaginable exertions were made throughout the whole Country, but they soon changed their note, for when a number of canoes had put off with Pilots, and those who remained on shore did not see their friends return, but on the contrary, saw the white colours struck and British flags hoisted in their place, their consternation, rage and grief was inconceivable, and had such an effect on a Priest, who stood on the shore with a telescope in his hand, that he dropped down and instantly expired.

CHAP. importing : That the King his master, justly exasperat-  
 VI. ed against the French monarch, had equipped a considerable armament, in order to humble his pride, and was determined to reduce the most considerable French settlements in America : He declared, that it was not against the industrious peasants, their wives and children nor against the ministers of religion, that he intended to make war : on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they must be exposed by the quarrel : he offered them his protection, and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided they would remain quiet and take no part in the differences between the two Crowns. He observed that the English were masters of the river Saint Lawrence, so as to intercept all succours from Europe, and had besides a powerful army on the continent, under the command of General Amherst. He affirmed, that the resolution they ought to take, was neither difficult nor doubtful, as the utmost exertion of their valour would be useless and serve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality. He reminded them, that the cruelties exercised by the French upon the subjects of Great Britain in America, would excuse the most severe reprisals, but Britons were too generous to follow such barbarous examples : He again offered to the Canadians, the sweets of peace amidst the horrors of war, and left it to themselves to determine their own fate by their own conduct. He expressed his hope, that the world would do him justice, should they oblige him by regretting these favorable terms, to adopt violent measures : He expatiated on the strength and power of Great Britain, in thus stretching out the hand of humanity—a



hand ready to assist them on all occasions, even when France was by her weakness compelled to abandon them in the most critical conjuncture. This manifesto, had no effect on the Canadians, who preferred abandoning their habitations and exposing their families to ruin, rather than place a confidence in the General's assurances of protection—so much had the Priests represented the English nation, as the most savage and cruel upon earth. Instead therefore, of pursuing the prudent plan, suggested by the manifesto, they joined, the scalping parties of the Indians, \* who butchered the English stragglers, taken by surprize in the most horrid manner. This produced a letter from General Wolfe to the Marquis de Montcalm, desiring him to repress these enormities, so contrary to the rules of war, so dishonorable to the service of France and disgraceful to human nature, and unless a speedy stop was put to it, he would retaliate on the persons of his prisoners, what ever cruelties, should be committed on the soldiers and subjects of his master. Either from want of inclination or from a more probable cause, a difficulty of briddling the ferocity of the Savages, no measures were adopted to repress their appetite for blood, which in the sequel, compelled General

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\* The operation of scalping, which, to the shame of both nations, was encouraged both by French and English, the Savages perform in this manner. The hapless victim being disabled, or disarmed, the Indian, with a sharp knife, provided and worn for the purpose, makes a circular incision to the bone, round the upper part of the head, and tears off the scalp with his fingers. Previous this execution, he generally dispatches the prisoner by repeated blows on the head with the hammer side of an instrument, called a Toma-hawk: but some times they save themselves the trouble, and some times the blows prove ineffectual, so that the miserable patient is found alive, groaning in the utmost agony of torture. The Indian strings the scalps he has procured, to be produced as a testimony of his prowess, and receives a premium for each from the nation under whose banners he has enlisted.

CHAP Wolfe to connive at some irregularities in the way of  
VI. retaliation.

THE Marquis de Montcalm had posted a body of men with cannon at Point Levi, in hopes of annoying the shipping, when they came off that place. Mr. Wolfe, no sooner apprized of this circumstance, than he detached General Monkton, with four battalions, who passed the river at night, and early next morning attacked the French party; they were compelled to retire, and that post was immediately occupied by the English. Montcalm, apprehensive that the object of the English in taking this post within cannon shot of the city, was with the view of erecting a battery of mortars and artillery, detached sixteen hundred men across the river, to attack and destroy the works before they were completed: this detachment fell into disorder, fired on each other, and retreated in the greatest confusion. The battery being finished, the mortars and cannon did so much execution, that the lower town was reduced in a short time to a heap of rubbish.

IMMEDIATELY after the troops had landed on the Island of Orleans, the fleet was in imminent danger; a violent wind, which increased to a furious storm, disabled the transports, which ran foul of each other, foundered a number of small craft and boats, and forced several large vessels from their anchors. To take advantage of the confusion that this disaster occasioned, Mr. de Montcalm prepared seven fire ships, and at midnight sent them down from Quebec among the transports; owing however, to the deliberation of the English Admiral and dexterity of the seamen, they were towed a-

shore, where they burnt to the water's edge, without having done any damage to the English squadron. Another attempt of the same kind was made on the same day of the succeeding month, and fortunately with as little effect.

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As the works for the security of the hospitals and stores at the west end of the Island of Orleans were finished, General Wolfe passed on the ninth of July at night the north channel, and encamped on the left of the French lines with the River Montmorenci between them. The reason that induced the General to choose this situation, was because the ground was higher, and commanded the opposite side, where the French were posted, and that he hoped to find a ford higher up the river, by which he might pass and attack the Marquis de Montcalm more advantageously than fighting him in his entrenchments. The Marquis de Montcalm, who had reconnoitered the River Montmorenci, had taken care to entrench the bank of the River at the Ford, about three miles above the Falls, and from the steepness of its banks, rendered the passage inaccessible. The English Escort was twice attacked on its route to this place, and though they repulsed the French and Indians, yet they lost in these rencounters about forty men killed and wounded, without succeeding in their object.

GENERAL WOLFE, in hopes of finding a place higher up the Saint Lawrence more favourable for a descent, passed the town on the eighteenth July, with several vessels and troops, to observe the banks of the river on the Quebec side, which he found extremely difficult, from the nature of the ground, and still stronger from

CHAP. the precautions that had been taken by Mr. Montcalm.  
 VI. Disheartened and dispirited by the information he had  
 acquired, particularly as a descent seemed impracticable between the city and Cape Rouge, he returned, having in the mean while detached Lieutenant Colonel Carleton, since Lord Dorchester, as high up as Point aux Trembles, to which place he was informed a number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired with their valuable effects. The Colonel landed without meeting much opposition, and though he brought away a few prisoners, yet found no magazine.

DISAPPOINTED in his expectation, on his return to Montmorenci, he resolved to attack Montcalm, posted to great advantage, and prepared to give him a warm reception. The French had a redoubt close to the water's edge, within gun shot of the entrenchment on the hill, which Wolfe resolved to attack, in hopes that if this fortification was supported, it might bring on a general engagement. On the contrary, should they allow it to be reduced, he might have leisure to examine their situation, and attack them at the place in which they were most vulnerable. As preparations had been made for storming the redoubt, on the last day of July, in the forenoon, Brigadier Monkton's brigade were embarked in the boats of the fleet, to be transported from Point Levi. Townshend and Murray's Brigades were drawn out in order to pass the Ford when ordered, and to facilitate their passage, the Centurion ship of war, was stationed to check the fire of the lower battery, by which the ford was commanded; a train of artillery was placed on the eminence, to batter and enfilade the left of the French entrenchment, while two flat bottom-

ed and armed boats were run aground near the redoubt, to favor the descent of the troops. These previous arrangements produced much confusion among the French troops, which was so much increased by the fire of the Centurion, that General Wolfe determined to storm the entrenchment without loss of time. Orders were immediately issued for the Brigades to be put in motion at a certain signal, which was made at a proper time of tide. Owing to a ledge that runs off, many of the boats from Point Levi ran aground, which occasioned such a loss of time, that General Wolfe was obliged to stop Townshend's Brigade, already in motion. After some time the boats were floated and ranged in order, when thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred men of the second Royal American Battalion were first landed. These were to be formed in four distinct bodies, and to be supported by Monckton's corps, as soon as the other troops had passed the ford, to contribute to their assistance. The grenadiers however, neglected these orders, and rushed on to the attack of the French entrenchments in the greatest disorder. They were so warmly received, that the first fire compelled them to shelter themselves behind the redoubt that the French had abandoned at their approach. Unable to form under so hot a fire, they remained some time in this situation, losing many valuable officers, and many brave men. General Wolfe perceiving that their efforts were abortive, ordered them to form behind Monckton's brigade, drawn up on the beach in good order. The day being far spent, and the tide beginning to make, the general thought it best to desist, when he ordered the retreat, which was effected without any in-

CHAP. VI. interruption from the French. The two vessels that were aground, he ordered should be set fire to, lest they might fall into the hands of the French. This bold attack cost the General five hundred men, and many brave officers.\*

\* The following anecdote is so remarkable, and tends so much to the honour of the British soldiery, that we insert it without fear of the reader's disapprobation.—Captain Ochterlony and Ensign Peyton belonging to the regiment of Brigadier General Monkton. They were nearly of an age, which did not exceed thirty: the first was a North Briton, the other a native of Ireland. Both were agreeable in person, and unblemished in character, and connected together by the ties of mutual friendship and esteem. On the day that preceded the battle, Captain Ochterlony had been obliged to fight a duel with a German officer, in which, though he wounded and disarmed his antagonist, yet he himself received a dangerous hurt under the right arm; in consequence of which his friends insisted on his remaining in camp during the action of the next day; but his spirit was too great to comply with this remonstrance. He declared it should never be said that a scratch, received in a private rencounter, had prevented him from doing his duty, when his country required his service; and took the field with a fusil in his hand, though he was hardly able to carry his arms. In leading up his men to the enemy's entrenchment, he was shot through the lungs with a musket ball; an accident which obliged him to part with his fusil: but he still continued advancing, until by loss of blood he became too weak to proceed further. About the same time Mr. Peyton was lamed by a shot, which shattered the small bone of his leg. The soldiers in their retreat, earnestly begged, with tears in their eyes, that Captain Ochterlony would allow them to carry him and the Ensign off the field. But he was so bigotted to a severe point of honour, that he would not quit the ground, though he desired they would take care of his Ensign. Mr. Peyton, with a generous disdain, rejected their good offices, declaring that he would not leave his captain in such a situation; and in a little time they remained the sole survivors on that part of the field.

Captain Ochterlony sat down by his friend, and as they expected nothing but immediate death, they took leave of each other: yet they were not altogether abandoned by the hope of being protected as prisoners; for the Captain seeing a French Soldier with two Indians approach them, started up, and accosting them in the French language, which he spoke perfectly well, expressed his expectation that they would treat him and his companion as officers, prisoners, and gentlemen. The two Indians seemed to be entirely under the controul of the Frenchman, who coming up to Mr. Peyton, as he sat on the ground, snatched his laced hat from his head, and robbed the captain of his watch and money. This outrage was a signal to the Indians for murder and pillage. One of them, clubbing his firelock, struck at him behind, with a view to knock him down; but the blow missing his head, took place upon his shoulder. At the same instant the other Indian poured his shot into the breast of this unfortunate young gentleman,

Immediately after this unfortunate check, † Brigadier Murray was detached with twelve hundred men, to assist Admiral Holmes, sent up to destroy the

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who cried out, "O Peyton! the villain has shot me." Not yet satisfied with cruelty, the barbarian sprung upon him and stabbed him in the belly with his scalping knife. The captain having parted with his fusil, had no weapon for his defence, as none of the officers wore swords in the action. The three ruffians finding him still alive, endeavoured to strangle him with his own sash; and he was now upon his knees, struggling against them with surprising exertion. Mr. Peyton, at this juncture, having a double barrellled musket in his hands, and seeing the distress of his friend, fired at one of the Indians, who dropped dead upon the spot. The other, thinking the ensign would now be an easy prey, advanced towards him; and Mr. Peyton having taken good aim at the distance of four yards, discharged his piece the second time; but it seemed to take no effect. The savage fired in his turn, and wounded the ensign in the shoulder; then rushing upon him, thrust his bayonet through his body. He repeated the blow, which Mr. Peyton attempting to parry, received another wound in his left hand. Nevertheless, he seized the Indian's musket with the same hand, pulling him forwards, and with his right drawing a dagger which hung by his side, plunged it in the barbarian's side. A violent struggle ensued; but at length Mr. Peyton was uppermost, and, with repeated strokes of his dagger, killed his antagonist outright. Here he was seized with an unaccountable emotion of curiosity, to know whether or not his shot had taken place on the body of the Indian: he accordingly turned him up, and, stripping off his blanket, perceived that the ball had penetrated quite through the cavity of the breast. Having thus obtained a dear bought victory, he started up on one leg, and saw Captain Ochterlony standing at the distance of sixty yards, close by the enemy's breast work, with the French soldier attending him. Mr. Peyton then called aloud, "Captain Ochterlony, I am glad to see you have at last got under protection. Beware of that villain, who is more barbarous than the savages. God bless you, my dear captain. I see a party of Indians coming this way, and expect to be murdered immediately."—A number of those barbarians had for some time been employed on the left, in scalping and pillaging the dying and dead that were left upon the field of battle; and above thirty of these banditti were in full march to destroy Mr. Peyton. This gentleman knew he had no mercy to expect; for, should his life be spared for the present, they would afterwards have insisted upon sacrificing him to the manes of their brethren whom

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† On the second of September, General Wolfe wrote to the Ministry in these words:—The obstacles we have met with in the operations of this campaign are much greater than we had reason to expect or could foresee; not so much from the number of the enemy (though superior to us) as from the natural strength of

CHAP. VI. French shipping. Though he made many fruitless attempts to land on the north shore, he at length suc-

whom he had slain; and in that case he would have been put to death by the most excruciating tortures. Full of that idea, he snatched up his musket, and notwithstanding his broken leg, ran above forty yards without halting: feeling himself now totally disabled, and incapable of proceeding one step further, he loaded his piece, and presented it at the two foremost Indians, who stood aloof, waiting to be joined by their companions; while the French, from their breast work, kept up a continual fire of cannon and small arms, upon this poor, solitary, maimed gentleman. In this uncomfortable situation he stood, when he discerned at a distance a Highland officer, with a party of his men skirting the plain towards the field of battle. He forthwith waved his hand in signal of distress, and being perceived by the officer, he detached three of his men to his assistance. These brave fellows hastened to him through the midst of a terrible fire, and one of them bore him off on his shoulders. The Highland officer was Captain Macdonald, of Colonel Frazier's battalion; who understanding that a young gentleman, his kinsman, had dropped on the field of battle, put himself at the head of this party, with which he penetrated to the middle of the field, drove a considerable number of French and Indians before him, and finding his relation still unscalped, carried him off in triumph. Poor Captain Ochterlony was conveyed to Quebec, where in a few days he died of his wounds; and after the reduction of that place, the French surgeons who attended him declared, that, in all probability, he would have recovered of the two shots he had received in his breast, had not he been mortally wounded in the belly by the Indian's scalping knife.

As this very remarkable scene was acted in sight of both armies, General T—n—d, in the sequel, expostulated with the French officers upon the inhumanity of keeping up such a severe fire against two wounded gentlemen, who were disabled and destitute of all hope of escaping. They answered, that the fire was not made by the regulars, but by the Canadians and Savages, whom it was not in the power of discipline to restrain.

the Country which the Marquis de Montcalm seems wisely to depend upon; when I learned that succours of all kinds had been thrown into Quebec, that five battalions of regular troops, completed from the best of the inhabitants of the Country, some of the troops of the Colony, and every Canadian that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of Savages, had taken the field in a very advantageous situation: I could not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I sought, however, an occasion to attack the army, knowing well, that with these troops I was able to fight, and hoping that a victory might disperse them. We found them encamped along the shore of Beauport, from the River Saint Charles to the Falls of Montmorenci, and entrenched in every accessible part. On the twenty-seventh of June, we landed upon the Island of Orleans; but receiving a message from the Admiral, that there was reason to think the enemy had artillery and a force upon the Point de Levi. I detached Bri-



ceeded, and made a descent at Dechambault, where he  
 burnt a magazine filled with arms, clothing, provisions

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gadier Monkton, with four battalions to drive them from thence. He passed the river on the twenty-ninth at night, and marched the next day to the point; he obliged the enemy's irregulars to retire, and possessed himself of that post. The advanced parties upon this occasion had two or three skirmishes with the Canadians and Indians, with little loss on either side. Colonel Carleton § marched with a detachment to the westernmost point of Orleans, whence our operations were likely to begin. It was absolutely necessary to possess these two points and fortify them, because, from either the one or the other the enemy might make it impossible for any ship to lie in the bason of Quebec, or even within two miles of it. Batteries of cannon and mortars were erected with great dispatch on the point of Levi, to bombard the town and magazines, and to injure the works and batteries; the enemy perceiving these works in some forwardness, passed the river with sixteen hundred men to attack and destroy them. Unluckily they fell into confusion, fired upon one another, and went back again, by which we lost an opportunity of defeating this large detachment. The effect of our artillery had been so great, though across the river, that the upper town is considerably damaged, and the lower town entirely destroyed. The works for the security of our Hospital and stores on the Island of Orleans being finished, on the ninth of July at night, we passed the north channel, and encamped near the enemy's left. The next morning Captain Danke's company of rangers, posted in a corner to cover some workmen, were attacked and defeated by a body of Indians, and had so many killed and wounded as to be almost disabled for the rest of the campaign. The enemy also suffered in this affair, and were in their turn driven off by the nearest troops. The ground to the eastward of the Fall seemed to be, as it really is, higher than on the enemy's side, and to command it in a manner that might be made useful to us. There is, besides, a ford below the fall which may be passed for some hours in the latter part of the ebb, and beginning of the flood tide, and I had hopes, that a possibility might be found of passing the river above, so as to fight the Marquis de Montcalm upon terms of less disadvantage than attacking his entrenchments. In reconnoitering the river Montmorenci, we found it fordable at a place about three miles up, but the opposite beach was entrenched, and so steep and woody, that it was to no purpose to attempt a passage there. The escort was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulsed; but in these rencounters we had forty officers and men killed and wounded. The eighteenth of July, two men of war, two armed sloops, and two transports with troops on board, passed by the town without any loss, and got into the upper river. This enabled me to reconnoitre the country above, where I found the same attention on the enemy's side, and great difficulties on ours, arising from the nature of the ground, and the obsta-

§ Created Baron Dorchester, of Dorchester, in the County of Oxford, in 1736. A gentleman of consummate abilities, an experienced general, and an able politician.

CHAP. and ammunition. As the French ships were so well se-  
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 to camp.

cles to our communication with the fleet. But what I feared most was, that if we should land between the town and the river Cape Rouge, the body first landed would not be reinforced, before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army. Notwithstanding these difficulties, I thought once of attempting it three miles above the town; but perceiving that the enemy jealous of the design, were preparing against it, and had actually brought artillery and a mortar, which, being so near Quebec, they could encrease as they pleased, to play upon the shipping. And as it must have been many hours before we could attack them, even supposing a favourable night for the boats to pass by the town unhurt, it seemed so hazardous that I thought it best to desist. However, to divide the enemy's force and to draw their attention as high up the river as possible, and to procure some intelligence, I sent a detachment under the command of Colonel Carleton, to land at Point au Tremble, to attack whatever he might find there, bring off prisoners, and all the useful papers he could get. I have been informed, that a number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired to that place, and that probably we should find a magazine of provisions there. The Colonel was fired upon by a party of Indians the moment he landed, but they were soon dispersed and driven into the woods: he searched for magazines, but to no purpose, brought off some prisoners, and returned with little loss. After this business, I came back to Montmorenci, where I found Brigadier Townshend had, by a superior fire prevented the French from erecting a battery on the bank of the river, where they intended to cannonade our camp. I now resolved to take the first opportunity which presented itself of attacking the enemy, tho' posted to great advantage, and every where prepared to receive us. As the men of war cannot, for want of sufficient depth of water, come near enough the enemy's entrenchments to annoy them in the least, the Admiral had prepared two transports, drawing but little water, which upon occasion would be run aground to favour a descent. With the help of these vessels, which I understood would be carried by the tide close on shore, I proposed to make myself master of a detached redoubt near to the water's edge, and whose situation appeared to be out of musket shot of the entrenchment upon the hill. If the enemy supported this detached post, it would necessarily bring on an engagement, what we most wished for; and if not, I should have it in my power to examine their situation so as to be able to determine where we could best attack them. Preparations were accordingly made for an engagement. The thirty-first of July in the forenoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of Brigadier Monkton's brigade from the Point of Levi; the two brigades under Brigadiers Townshend and Murray, were ordered to be in readiness to pass the ford when it should be thought necessary. To facilitate the passage of this corps, the Admiral had placed the Centurion in the channel, so that she might check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford. This ship was of great use, as her fire was very judiciously directed. A great quantity of artillery stores

A council of war was called by the general ; it was of opinion, that a sufficient force being left at Orleans

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was placed upon the eminence, so as to batter and enfilade the left of their entrenchments. From the vessel that ran aground nearest in, I observed that the redoubt was too much commanded to be kept without very great loss ; and the more so, as the two armed ships could not be brought near enough to cover both with artillery and musketry, which I at first conceived they might. But as the enemy seemed in some confusion, and we were prepared for an action, I thought it proper time to make an attempt upon their intrenchment. Orders were sent to the Brigadiers General to be ready with the corps under their command. Brigadier Monkton to land, and Brigadiers Townshend and Murray to pass the ford. At a proper time of tide the signal was made, but in rowing towards the shore many of the boats grounded upon a ledge that runs off to a considerable distance. This accident put us into some disorder, lost a great deal of time, and obliged me to send an officer to stop Brigadier Townshend's march, whom I then observed to be in motion. While the seamen were getting the boats off, the enemy fired a number of shot and shells, but did no considerable damage. As soon as this disorder could be set a little to rights, and the boats were ranged in a proper manner, some of the officers of the navy went in with me to find a better place to land. We took one flat bottomed boat with us to make the experiment, and as soon as we had found a fit part of the shore, the troops were ordered to disembark, thinking it not yet too late for the attempt. The thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred of the second Royal American battalion got first on shore. The grenadiers were ordered to form themselves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, supported by Brigadier Monkton's corps, as soon as the troops had passed the ford, and were at hand to assist. But whether from the noise and hurry at landing, or from some other cause, the grenadiers, instead of forming themselves as they were directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's entrenchments in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps that was to sustain them and join in the attack. Brigadier Monkton was not landed, and Brigadier Townshend was still at a considerable distance, though upon his march to join us in very great order. The grenadiers were checked by the enemy's first fire, and obliged to shelter themselves in and about the redoubt, which the French abandoned upon their approach. In this situation they continued for some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, and having many gallant officers wounded, who careless of their persons, had been solely intent upon their duty. I saw the absolute necessity of calling them off, that they might form themselves behind Brigadier Monkton's corps, which was now landed and drawn up on the beach in extreme good order. By this new accident and this second delay it was near night, and a sudden storm came on and the tide began to make, so that I thought it most advisable not to persevere in so difficult an attack, lest in case of a repulse, the retreat of Brigadier Townshend's corps might be hazardous and uncertain. Our artillery

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and Pointe Levi, the main army should pass up the river, in hopes of drawing the French, from their situation and

had a great effect upon the enemy's left, where Brigadiers Townshend and Murray were to have attacked, and it is probable, that if those accidents I have spoken of had not happened, we should have penetrated there, whilst our left and centre more remote from our artillery, must have borne all the violence of their musquetry. The French did not attempt to interrupt our march. Some of their Savages came down to murder such wounded as could not be brought off, and to scalp the dead, as their custom is. The place where the attack was intended, has these advantages over all others here about: our artillery could be brought into use; the greatest part or even the whole of the troops might act at once, and the retreat, in case of a repulse, was secure, at least for a certain time of the tide; neither one nor the other of these advantages can any where else be found. The enemy were indeed posted upon a commanding eminence, the beach upon which the troops were drawn up, was of deep mud with holes, and cut by several gullies; the hill to be ascended very steep, and not every where practicable: the enemy numerous in their entrenchments, and their fire hot. If the attack had succeeded, our loss must certainly have been great, and theirs inconsiderable, from the shelter which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river St. Charles remained still to be passed before the town was invested. All those circumstances I considered, but the desire to act in conformity to the King's intentions induced me to make this trial, *persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties.* The enemy have been fortifying ever since with care, so as to make a second attempt still more dangerous. Immediately after this check, I sent Brigadier Murray above the town, with twelve hundred men, directing him to assist Rear Admiral Holmes in the destruction of the French ships if they could be got at, in order to open a communication with General Amherst. The Brigadier was to seek every favorable opportunity of fighting some of the enemy's detachments, provided he could do it upon tolerable terms, and to use all the means in his power to provoke them to attack him. He made two different attempts to land upon the North Shore, without success, but in a third was more fortunate: he landed unexpectedly at Dechambault, and burned a magazine there in which were some provisions, some ammunition, and all the spare stores, cloathing, arms, and baggage of their army. Finding that the ships were not to be got at, and little prospect of bringing the enemy to a battle, he reported his situation to me, and I ordered him to join the army. The prisoners he took, informed him of the surrender of the Fort of Niagara, and we discovered by intercepted letters, that the enemy having abandoned Carillon and Crown Point, were retired to the Isle au Noix; and that General Amherst was making preparations to pass Lake Champlain, to fall upon Monsieur de Bourlamaque's corps, which consists of three battalions of foot, and as many Canadians as make the whole amount to three thousand men. The Admiral's dispatches and mine would have gone eight or ten days sooner, if I had not

of bringing them to an engagement. This measure, however was not adopted until the Admiral and General had reconnoitered the town, who concluded from their observation, that there would be but little pros-

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been prevented from writing by a fever; I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. *They are of opinion*, that as more ships and provisions are now yet above the town, they should try, by conveying a corps of four or five thousand men, which is nearly the whole strength of the army, after the Points of Levi and Orleans are left in a proper state of defence, to draw the enemy from their present situation and bring them to an action. *I have acquiesced in their proposal*, and we are preparing to put it in execution. The Admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault; but after consulting the chief Engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior part of it, and after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found that, though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men of war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the five passages leading from the lower to the upper town are carefully entrenched, and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them and from the mortars. The Admiral would readily join in this or any other measure for the public service; but I could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success. To the uncommon strength of the country the enemy have added, for the defence of the river, a great number of floating batteries and boats; by the vigilance of these, and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute any thing by surprize. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these Savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side. By the loss of officers (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive that the army in general is much weakened. By the nature of the river the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting; yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation *there is such a choice of difficulties*, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know require the most vigorous measures, but then the courage of a handful of brave troops should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, that the small part of the campaign which remains, shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honor of his Majesty, and the interest of the nation; in which I am sure of being well seconded by the Admiral and by the Generals: happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his Majesty's arms in any other part of America."

CHAP. VI. spect of success from a general assault on the town. Though the ships of war might have silenced the batteries of the Lower Town, yet, the upper works would not have been affected, and much damage was to be expected from their fire.

As the resolution was taken to quit the camp at Montmorenci, the troops and artillery were landed at Pointe Levi, and afterwards reimbarbed in transports to pass up the river, while Admiral Holmes, to amuse the French, posted on the North Shore, moved up with his ships; the men being much crowded on board, one half of them were landed for refreshment, on the south shore. The plan suggested and adopted, was, that the troops should be conveyed in boats, and be landed in the night, within a league of Cape Diamond, in the hope of ascending the heights of Abraham, and take possession of the ground on the rear of the city, where it was but indifferently fortified. However great the difficulties, and however discouraging the execution of this design, yet nothing could appal the energetic mind of the immortal Wolfe, whose courage and enterprize rose with the difficulties, with which he was assailed. He adopted the plan without hesitation, and executed it in person.

On the sixth of August, General Wolfe sent a detachment under the command of Captain Goreham to St. Paul's Bay, to reduce that Parish, and to collect provisions. A sloop of war taking the detachment under convoy, anchored opposite the Island of Coudre, and the next morning at day break they rowed towards the shore. When they came within reach of it, they

were saluted by a shower of musketry, by which one man was killed and eight wounded. Before the inhabitants could load again, the boats were grounded, and the corps instantly pushed on shore, charged and routed the wretched inhabitants. Captain Goreham, finding their houses abandoned, set fire to the village, and destroyed every building except the church : on the door of which he posted up an advertisement, informing the Canadians, That the rigorous measures he pursued, and would certainly persevere in, was occasioned by the contempt they had shown to the manifesto published by General Wolfe in June ; and for their ungrateful return, as they had, on various occasions, treated the English with the greatest inhumanity.—The detachment took twenty head of cattle, forty sheep, several hogs, and a great quantity of poultry and plunder, consisting of books, wearing apparel and household stuff of various kinds. The English Party had a Swiss for their guide, who had been a captain of militia, resident for several years in the Seigneurie of Saint Paul, and had deserted from the French some time before. The Marquis de Vaudreuil had always placed much confidence in this fellow, and he had the command of all the men of that district, with orders to harrass the English, by landing small parties on the east end of the Island of Orleans, and in that neighbourhood. He had been instructed that if he should make two or more British officers prisoners, to reserve only one for intelligence, and scalp the others, and to give no quarter to private soldiers or sailors. Among the Priest's papers there was a letter from the Governor General to him, direct-

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CHAP. ing him to endeavor to take the Swiss captain, and to  
 VI. hang him up instantly.\*

A Priest, with about eighty of his parishioners having fortified themselves in a large house at Chateau Richer, General Wolfe sent a detachment with a field piece and howitzer to reduce it. Before the arrival of the detachment, the Priest sent a written invitation to an English officer quartered near the place, to "honor him with his company at dinner, with an assurance, that he, and any officer of his detachment, who would be kind enough to accompany him, should return with the greatest safety ; and added, that as the English officer fought for his King and Country, he hoped, he himself would be excused in fighting for his poor parishioners." To which, after a polite apology for not being able to accept the civility, the English officer subjoined, " that he flattered himself he should soon have the happiness of entertaining the gallant Priest and his adherents in the British Camp." An attack was immediately after made on the stately house occupied by this indiscreet Priest,\* it was reduced to ashes by the detachment of light troops laid in ambuscade in the skirts of the wood near the fortified house ; as soon as the field piece was brought up and began to play, he with his men, sallied out, when falling in the ambush, thirty of them, with their leader, were surrounded, killed, and scalped : the reason of their being treated with so much cruelty, proceeded from the wretched parishioners having disguised themselves like Indians. In this rencounter the English had five men wounded.

\* Knox's Historical Journal.



A company of Rangers, on a scout towards Beaumont, surprised about twenty Canadians reaping their corn, who instantly took to their arms and made to a coppice that covered the road about half a mile's distance, intending to way lay them. They gave the Rangers a fire before they were within reach, which discovered their danger, whereupon the captain retired a little way, formed his men in three divisions, detached one to the right and another to the left, while the third moved on at a gentle pace. Upon the centre party's advancing, the French party fired again, and the other division got round, and rushed upon them unexpectedly; five of the Canadians were killed and four made prisoners. The Rangers had two men slightly wounded. Vaudreuil in his intercepted letters, to the Priests of the several Parishes, expressed his surprize at their disobedience to his orders, in not conducting their cattle within the interior woods of their districts on the north and south shores below Quebec, to prevent their falling into the hands of the English, and particularly enjoined them to pay greater respect to his commands, on pain of incurring his highest displeasure.

IN furtherance of the General's plan, Admiral Holmes to amuse Bougainville, who had been sent with fifteen hundred men by Montcalm to watch the motions of the English, moved all his squadron three leagues higher, with orders to fall down the river in the night, to favor the landing of the troops. An hour after midnight of the twelfth day of September, the first division consisting of four complete regiments, the light infantry commanded by Colonel, afterwards Lord Howe, a detachment of Highlanders and the American grena-

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diers were embarked in flat bottomed boats, under the command of Brigadiers Monkton and Murray. They began to fall down with the tide to the intended place of disembarkation, rowing close along the shore in order to find it more easily. General Wolfe accompanied them in person, and was among the first who landed. The boats without any disorder glided gently along; owing, however, to the rapidity of the tide and the darkness of the night, the boats overshot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place intended for disembarkation. The first division being landed at the Cove,\* the boats were sent back for the second embarkation superintended by Brigadier Townshend. During this interval the light infantry and Highlanders ascended the precipice and dislodging a French guard under Captain de Vergor, which defended the narrow path, the rest of the forces reached the summit by this route.† As soon as they mounted they were drawn up in order of battle. Montcalm astonished at this unexpected descent, hastened on his troops to oppose the English, and sent orders to Brigadier Sennezergues to join him with a large body of Canadians, and as soon as they arrived he resolved on hazarding a battle, leav-

\* Since called Wolfe's Cove.

† Captain Donald Mc. Donald, a very gallant officer of Fraser's Highlanders, commanded the advanced guard of the light infantry, and was consequently among the foremost on shore: as soon as he and his men gained the height, he was challenged by a centry, and with great presence of mind, from his knowledge of the French service, answered him according to their manner; it being yet dark, he came up to him, told him he was sent there with a large command and to call off all the other men of his party who were ranged along the hill, for that he would take care to give a good account of the B—— Anglois, if they persisted. This finesse had the desired effect, and saved many lives.

*"The Hill they clim'd, and halted at its top, of more than mortal size:*

*"Tow'ring they seem'd, a host Angelic, clad in burning arms!"*

ing Vaudreuil in command of a body of Militia on the other side of the River Saint Charles. When in view of the English army on the Plains of Abraham, he drew them up in order of battle. The right was composed of five hundred and fifty Colony Troops, two battalions of Regular Troops of five hundred and twenty-five men each, four hundred Militia, with a six pounder. Their centre consisted of a Column formed by two other Regular Battalions of three hundred and sixty men each, and twelve hundred Militia, and on their left, one regiment of Regular Troops of six hundred and fifty men, six hundred and fifty Colony Troops, with two thousand three hundred Militia, making in the whole seven thousand five hundred and twenty men. There was a body of Indians who kept in the bushes; and did much execution by singling out many brave officers for destruction. Mr. de Ramsay, the French King's Lieutenant was left in the command of Quebec, with seven hundred men. General Wolfe had no sooner seen Montcalm than he began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions and the Louisbourg Grenadiers. The right commanded by Brigadier Monkton; the left by Brigadier Murray. The light Infantry were posted in the rear of the left, that moment returned, having taken a four gun battery without opposition. To prevent Montcalm's outflanking the English, Brigadier Townshend was sent with Amherst's regiment, which was formed *en potence*, and was reinforced afterwards by two battalions. The reserve consisted of one regiment drawn up in eight subdivisions with large intervals. About nine o'clock of the morning of the thirteenth of September, the French General advanced to the charge with great order and

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CHAP. vivacity, keeping up, however, but an irregular fire.

VI. The British on the contrary, waited with great coolness until they advanced within forty yards, when they poured in a destructive fire. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, where the attack was the most warm, and as he was in the front of the line, and always conspicuous, he was aimed at by the marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which did not compel him to leave the field. Notwithstanding this accident, he gave orders without emotion, and advancing at the head of the grenadiers with fixed bayonets, another ball unfortunately pierced the breast of this young hero,\* who fell in the arms of victory, just as the French gave way. While the right pressed on with their bayonets, Brigadier Murray advanced with the troops under his command, and broke the centre of the French, and the Highlanders drawing their swords, fell on them with irresistible force, and impetuously drove them with great slaughter into the town. The action was not so violent on the left and rear of the English. Some of the light infantry who had taken possession of houses, defended themselves with great courage and resolution. Colonel Howe sallied out frequently from behind a copse, with two companies on the flanks of the French, and driving them into heaps, Brigadier Townshend advanced platoons against their front. The Brigadier remained with Amherst's regiment, to prevent the French from accomplishing their first intention, which was ef-

\* When the fatal ball took place, General Wolfe, finding himself unable to stand, leaned on the shoulder of a Lieutenant, who sat down for that purpose. This officer seeing the French give way, exclaimed, "they run;" "who run?" cried the gallant Wolfe, with great eagerness; when the Lieutenant replied, "the French." "What!" said he, "do the Cowards run already? then I die happy!" so saying, the glorious youth expired.

fectcd, and to overawe a body of Indians waiting for an opportunity to fall on the rear of the British army. As General Wolfe was slain, and Monkton dangerously wounded, the command devolved on Brigadier Townshend, who hastened to the centre, and formed the troops disordered in the pursuit. Bougainville with two thousand fresh troops, at that moment appeared in the rear of the English: he had marched from Cape Rouge the moment he had heard that the English had gained the heights; but not coming up in time, had no share in the battle. Townshend, on his approach, ordered two battalions against him, but he retired among the woods and swamps, where Townshend declined attacking him, having already obtained a complete victory and possessed of a very advantageous situation. Montcalm was mortally wounded, and was conveyed to Quebec, where he died. His second in command, Sennezergues was left wounded in the field, and the next day expired on board an English ship to which he had been conveyed. Brigadier St. Ours also died of his wounds. About five hundred men were slain, and near one thousand were made prisoners, including a vast number of officers. The English loss amounted to fifty men killed, including nine officers, and about five hundred men wounded. Vaudreuil at length apprized of the defeat of Montcalm, retreated in the most disorderly manner from the lines at Beauport, abandoning his tents, artillery, ammunition provisions and stores. They then proceeded to Jacques Cartier, where they entrenched themselves, until compelled by the weather to make the best of their way to Three Rivers and Montreal.

CHAP. VI. THE death of General Wolfe was a national loss, and was unusually regretted. He inherited from nature an unremitting fervor of sentiment, an intuitive perception, an extensive capacity and a passion for glory, which stimulated him to acquire every species of military knowledge that study could comprehend, that actual service could illustrate and confirm. This noble warmth of disposition seldom fails to call forth and unfold the liberal virtues of the soul. Brave above all estimation of danger, he was also generous, gentle, complaisant and humane. The patron of the officer, the darling of the soldier. There was a sublimity in his genius which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been encreased to their full extent by opportunity and action, had his judgment been fully matured by age and experience, he would, without doubt, have rivalled in reputation the most celebrated Captains of antiquity. The officers of the army wore mourning on the death of their Chief, and an excellent Thanksgiving sermon was preached on the field of battle.

LATE in the evening of the fourteenth of September, Montcalm died. When his wound was dressed, he asked the Surgeons whether it was mortal, and being answered in the affirmative, he calmly replied, "he was glad of it:" he then demanded whether he could survive it long; he was told "perhaps a dozen hours, and perhaps less." "So much the better" rejoined Montcalm. "I am happy I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." He was then visited by Mr. de Ramsay, the French King's Lieutenant, who desired to receive his commands, to be pursued for the defence of Quebec. To which the Marquis replied; "I will

neither give orders nor interfere any further : I have much business that must be attended to, of greater moment than your ruined garrison and this wretched country. My time is very short, so pray leave me : I wish you all comfort, and to be happily extricated from your present perplexities." He then called for his Chaplain, who with the Bishop of the Colony, remained with him until he expired. Before he died, he paid the English Army this compliment : " Since it was my misfortune to be discomfited and mortally wounded, it is a great consolation to me to be vanquished by so brave and generous an enemy. If I could survive this wound, I would engage to beat three times the number of such forces as I commanded this morning, with a third of British troops." The French Government anxious to mark their approbation of the conduct of Montcalm, proposed to erect a monument to his memory in this Country, (which however never arrived,) and Mr. Bougainville was entrusted to obtain permission for this purpose.\*

\* The letters that passed between Bougainville and Mr. Secretary Pitt, were in these words :

*Translation of a Letter from Mr. Bougainville, Member of the Academy of Sciences, to the Right Hon. William Pitt.*

SIR,

The honours paid, during your Ministry, to the memory of Mr. Wolfe, give me room to hope that you will not disapprove of the grateful efforts made by the French Troops to perpetuate the memory of the Marquis de Montcalm. The corpse of that General, who was honoured with the regret of your nation, is buried at Quebec. I have the honour to send you an Epitaph which the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres have wrote for him : and I would beg the favour of you, Sir, to read it over, and if there be nothing improper in it, to procure me a permission to send it to Quebec, engraved in marble, to put over the Marquis de Montcalm's Tomb. If this permission should be granted, may I presume, Sir, to entreat the honor of a line to acquaint me with it, and

CHAP. IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Quebec, Admiral  
 VI. Saunders sent up all the boats of the fleet, with artillery  
 and ammunition, to aid Brigadier Townshend, who had  
 secured his camp with redoubts, made a military road  
 for the cannon, and had cut off the communication the  
 French had with the country. De Bougainville took  
 possession of the old encampment at Beauport, and sa-  
 ved a quantity of stores and ammunition that had been  
 left on the general retreat of the army; in the effecting  
 of which they received no interruption from the En-  
 glish, solely intent on reducing the city. De Ramsay,  
 as well as the inhabitants of the town, were astonished  
 at de Vaudreuil's departure, and particularly at his go-

at the same time to send me a passport, that the engraved Marble may be re-  
 ceived on board of an English vessel, and that Mr. Murray, Governor of Que-  
 bec, may give leave to have it put up in the Ursuline Church. I ask pardon,  
 Sir, for taking off your attention, even for a moment, from your important  
 concerns: but to endeavour to immortalize great men and illustrious citizens, is  
 to do honor to you.

I am, &c.

Paris, March, 24, 1761.

BOUGAINVILLE.

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*Mr. Pitt's Answer.*

SIR,

It is a real satisfaction to me to send you the King's consent on such an inte-  
 resting subject, a very handsome Epitaph drawn by the Academy of Inscripti-  
 ons at Paris, for the Marquis de Montcalm, which is desired to be sent to Que-  
 bec, engraved on Marble, to be set up on the Tomb of the illustrious Warrior.  
 —The noble sentiments expressed in the desire to pay this tribute to the memo-  
 ry of their General by the French Troops who served in Canada, and who saw  
 him fall at their head, in a manner worthy of him and worthy of them, cannot  
 be too much applauded. I shall take a pleasure, Sir, in facilitating a design so  
 full of respect to the deceased: and as soon as I am informed of the measures  
 taken for embarking the Marble, I shall immediately grant the passport you  
 desire, and send orders to the Governor of Canada for its reception.


As to the rest, be assured, Sir, that I have a just sense of the obliging things  
 said to me in the letter with which you honoured me, and that I think it a sin-  
 gular happiness to have an opportunity to express those sentiments of distin-  
 guished esteem and consideration with which I have the honor to be, &c.

April 10th, 1761.

W. PITT.



ing to such a distance, without having first supplied the city with provisions, which were so scarce, that the troops were already reduced to two ounces a day each man. De Ramsay, however, animated his garrison by his conduct, and encouraged them with hopes of a reinforcement of men and provisions, as soon as De Levi had made preparations to attack the English in their lines. The people, at length, convinced of the little prospect of realizing their hopes, and still more apprehensive of an attack on the weakest part of the works, addressed a memorial to Mr. Daine, Lieutenant General, Civil and Criminal, requesting him to represent to Mr. de Ramsay their desire, that he should offer to capitulate to the English Commander, before he was reduced to the last extremity. De Ramsay took a census of the men fit to bear arms, and an account was taken of the quantity of provisions yet unexpended. Notwithstanding a supply that was brought in by La Roche's Cavalry, the quantity remaining was only sufficient for their subsistence for a few days longer. At length, convinced of the impossibility, with the force he had, of holding out against the inclinations of the people, and summoned to surrender, he proposed to the English General the same conditions that Mr. Vaudreuil had drawn up, and which were readily agreed to by Brigadier Townshend. It was conceived to be a great error in the Marquis retreating in the first instance so far; had he extended his right wing to Charlesbourg, and his left to the bridge of boats across the river St. Charles, he might have thrown succours into Quebec, which would have lengthened the siege, to such a period of the season when entrenchments could not have been thrown up, and the English Com-

CHAP. VI.  mander would have been compelled to reembark his troops, without effecting the object of the expedition.

IT had been De Levi's intention to attack the English army in their lines, and with this view he was proceeding on with the troops, when he learnt at Cape Rouge, that the town had capitulated.\* The surrender of

#### \* ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION

*Demanded by Mr. de RAMSAY, the King's Lieutenant, commanding the high and low Towns of Quebec, Chief of the military order of St. Lewis, to His Excellency the General of the troops of His Britannic Majesty.—“ The Capitulation demanded on the part of the enemy, and granted by their Excellencies Admiral “ SAUNDERS and General TOWNSHEND, &c. &c. &c. is in manner and form “ hereafter expressed.”*

I. Mr. de Ramsay demands the honours of war for his Garrison, and that it shall be sent back to the army in safety, and by the shortest route, with arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds for each of them.—“ The Garrison of the town, composed of Land forces, marines and sailors, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, matches lighted, with two pieces of French cannon, and twelve rounds for each piece ; and shall be embarked as conveniently as possible, to be sent to the first port in France.”

II. That the inhabitants shall be preserved in the possession of their houses, goods, effects, and privileges.—“ Granted, upon their laying down their arms.”

III. That the inhabitants shall not be accountable for having carried arms in the defence of the town, for as much as they were compelled to it, and that the inhabitants of the colonies, of both crowns, equally serve as militia.—“ Granted.”

IV. That the effects of the absent officers and citizens shall not be touched.—“ Granted.”

V. That the inhabitants shall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houses, until their condition shall be settled by their Britannic, and most Christian Majesties.—“ Granted.”

VI. That the exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion shall be maintained ; and that safe guards shall be granted to the houses of the clergy, and to the monasteries, particularly to his Lordship the Bishop of Quebec, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside in it constantly, to exercise, freely and with that decency which his character and the sacred offices of the Roman religion require, his episcopal authority in the town of Quebec, whenever, he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall be decided by a treaty between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties.—“ The free exercise of the roman religion is granted, like-

Quebec occasioned the greatest consternation, particularly to those persons who held large quantities of the Intendant's paper money; as the speedy reduction of the Colony became more and more apparent, the public officers made every exertion to rob the Government. Immense fortunes were soon made, and the Government drafts, to an immense value, were issued with all the rapidity of a mighty torrent. In order to encrease the fortune of a favorite gentleman, he was sent to St. Joseph's with a large supply of goods purchased by Government, under pretext of presents to the Indians, which he appropriated exclusively to his own use, and by that means made a very considerable sum of money, as every article of goods was at this time at a most exorbitant price.

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"wise safe guards to all religious persons, as well as to the Bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise, freely and with decency, the functions of his office, whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and most Christian Majesties."

VII. That the artillery and warlike stores shall be faithfully given up, and that an inventory of them shall be made out,—“Granted.”

VIII. That the sick and wounded, the commissaries, Physicians, Surgeons Apothecaries, and other people employed in the service of the hospitals, shall be treated conformably to the cartel of the 6th of February, 1759, settled between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties,—“Granted.”

IX. That before delivering up the gate and the entrance of the town to the English troops, their General will be pleased to send some soldiers to be posted as safeguards upon the churches, convents, and principal habitations.—“Granted.”

X. That the King's Lieutenant, commanding in Quebec, shall be permitted to send information to the marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor General, of the reduction of the place, as also that the General may send advice thereof to the french Ministry Granted.”

XI. That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenour, without being subject, to non-execution under pretence of reprisals, or for the non-execution of any preceding capitulations.—“Granted.”

Duplicates hereof taken and executed by, and between us, at the camp before Quebec, this 18th. Day of September, 1759.

CHARLES SAUNDERS,  
GEORGE TOWNSHEND,  
DE RAMSAY.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
CANADA.

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## CHAPTER VII.

*From the Surrender of Quebec, to the Peace of 1763.*

CHAP. **T**HE City of Quebec\* being reduced, Brigadier  
VII. Townshend, who had stipulated that he should return

\* Ninety-six shells, and seven carcasses were thrown into the town from the battery at Pointe Levi, within twenty four hours, which set fire to the Cathedral Church of Quebec, with all its paintings, images and ornaments, and they were entirely destroyed.

In the Church of the Lower Town, which was destroyed by fire, there was a fine painting, representing a Town in flames, with an inscription, setting forth:—That in the year 1711, when Quebec was threatened with a siege, by Walker and Hill, one of the pious women, pretending to be inspired, prognosticated, “that this Church and Lower Town would be destroyed by the British, alias *heretics*, in a conflagration, before the year of our Lord, 1760.” which made so great an impression on all ranks of people, that they dedicated two days every year, to fasting and worship; imploring the intercession of their Patroness with the Almighty, to protect that Church from fire and sword.

Population of Quebec in 1759,...6700 Souls.  
of Three Rivers,.....1500.  
of Montreal.....4000.

The whole Militia amounted to 27,000 men, from the age of 16 to 60.

KNOW.

to England at the end of the Campaign, left a gar-  
 rison of five thousand men in it, under the command  
 of Brigadier Murray. Monkton was conveyed to New  
 York, where he happily recovered of his wound.

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ON the arrival of the French troops at Jacques Car-  
 tier, Vaudreuil wrote to the Chevalier de Levi, to repair  
 to the army and take the command. De Levi, learning  
 that the Canadians had quitted the army and gone home,  
 he issued an order, declaring his intention, that every de-  
 serter from the army should be hanged. \* It was repre-  
 sented to him that this order could not be carried into  
 execution, unless it was sanctioned by Mr. de Vaudreuil,  
 who had no such power from the King. That the Cana-  
 dians could not be considered in any other light than as  
 volunteers who served without pay, and that as the whole  
 Militia of the Country was called out into service, it was  
 great injustice to punish the few, who, from absolute ne-  
 cessity had left the army to get in their harvest, and to  
 provide for their wives and families. De Levi, still re-  
 solved on executing the order, made an application to  
 the Governor to sanction it, which the other refused,  
 until he had express orders from the King on the sub-  
 ject. De Levi, still more enraged, declared his determi-  
 nation to Vaudreuil, that any Militia man that should  
 desert from the army, should be instantly shot. He was,  
 however, advised by his friends, to keep this sentiment  
 undisclosed, lest it might prevent the Militia from turn-  
 ing out and joining the army.

\* Two Canadians were hanged for desertion by Montcalm, before the battle  
 of the 13th September, and several severely flogged for leaving the army with-  
 out leave.

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THE season of the year, which became wet, cold and stormy, as well as the danger that threatened the troops with sickness, and the fleet with accident, operated strongly in granting the French the favorable terms secured by the Capitulation. In addition to these reasons, the British Commanders well knew that a considerable advantage would result from taking possession of the Town, while the walls were in a state of defence, particularly as they had received information from deserters that Mr. de Levi was at Cape Rouge with two regular battalions, and that Mr. de Bougainville, at the head of eight hundred men, with a convoy of provisions, was on his march to throw himself into the Town on the eighteenth, the very morning on which it surrendered.

As soon as the Capitulation was signed, the British forces took possession of Quebec on the land side, posting guards in the different parts of the town, and Capt. Palliser, with a body of seamen, secured the Lower Town. On the succeeding day, the prisoners, amounting to one thousand were embarked in transports, and proceeded to France, while the inhabitants of the country, in great numbers came in and delivered up their arms, at the same time taking the oath of fidelity to the English Government.

THE death of Montcalm was an irreparable loss to the French cause, and confounded their Councils. Though a victory had been obtained, yet it was unaccountable, that the French should tamely give up Quebec to a handful of troops, hardly sufficient to complete its investiture, and at a season of the year, which

would, by its severity, the winter being now approaching, have forced them to abandon their enterprize; and to retire with their Fleet, before it should be blocked up by the freezing of the River.

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THE account of the disaster of Montmorenci had caused great anxiety in the minds of the People of England, who, though they acquiesced in General Wolfe's conduct on that occasion, were extremely mortified at his miscarriage; and the more so, as he appeared extremely doubtful of striking the blow the people wished of the absolute conquest of Canada. These painful emotions had hardly subsided, when Colonel, since General Hale, arrived in England with the account of the victory and surrender of Quebec, which was immediately published in an Extraordinary Gazette. The joy which this news inspired, converted the despondence that the former had produced into rapture and riot. Nothing but triumph and exultation was heard, and the high enthusiasm of the people, prompted them to crown the glorious termination of the enterprize, even with an excess of praise.\* Captain Douglass,

\* A little circumstance deserves to be recorded, as it shews a delicacy of sentiment, and a justness of thinking, not very commonly exceeded, even among persons in the higher walks of life.—The Mother of General Wolfe was an object, marked for public commiseration, by great and poignant distress. That which gave cause of general exultation, could not but pierce her heart with peculiar sorrow. In the accomplished Officer, whom the Country, and the World admired, she had lost a dutiful and affectionate Son; doubly endeared, by his high public merits, and by the amiable virtues that adorned his private life. He was her *only* Son: and within a few months, she had lost his *Father*!—The populace of the village where she lived, unanimously agreed to admit no illuminations or firings, or any sign of rejoicings whatever near her house, lest they should seem, by an ill timed triumph, to violate the sacredness of her grief.

CHAP. of the Alcide, who brought the news, was honor-  
 VII. ed with knighthood, and on Colonel Hale and him were  
 } conferred considerable presents. The city of London, †

† *The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled :*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

To accept the most humble, but warmest congratulations of Your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, upon the rapid and uninterrupted series of victories and successes, which, under the Divine Blessing, have attended your Majesty's army by sea and land, within the compass of this distinguished and ever memorable year.

The reduction of Fort de Quesne on the Ohio; of the Island of Goree in Africa; and of Guadeloupe, with its dependencies in the West-Indies, the repulse and defeat of the whole French Arms by a handful of Infantry in the Plains of Minden;—the taking of Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point;—The Naval Victory off Cape Lagos;—The advantages gained over the French Nation in the East-Indies;—and, above all, the Conquest of Quebec, (the Capital of the French Empire in North America) in a manner so glorious to your Majesty's arms, against every advantage of situation and superior numbers, are such events, as will for ever render your Majesty's auspicious reign the favorite æra in the History of Great Britain.

But while we reflect with surprise and gratitude upon this last and most important conquest, permit us, gracious Sovereign, to express our great regard for the immense (tho' almost only) loss which has attended it, in the death of that gallant General, whose abilities formed, whose courage attempted, and whose conduct happily effected the glorious enterprize in which he fell, leaving to future times an heroic example of Military Skill, discipline, and fortitude.

Measures of such National concern, so invariably pursued, and acquisitions of so much consequence to the power and trade of Great Britain, are the noblest proofs of your Majesty's paternal affection, and regard for the true interest of your Kingdoms, and reflect honor upon those, whom your Majesty has been pleased to admit into your Council, or to intrust with the conduct of your Fleets and Army.

These will ever command the lives and fortunes of a free and grateful people, in defence of your Majesty's sacred Person and Royal Family, against the attempts of all your enemies. And we humbly trust, that Almighty God will bless your Majesty's salutary intentions with a continuance of success, and thereby in time, lead us to a safe and honorable peace.

Signed by order of Court,

JAMES HODGES.



and many other Corporations of the Kingdom, presented congratulatory Addresses to the King, and on the meeting of Parliament, the House unanimously resolved to present an Address, desiring his Majesty would order a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey, to the memory of Major General Wolfe, and thanks were at the same time resolved to be given to the surviving Generals and Admirals employed on the successful and glorious expedition of Quebec. A day of Thanksgiving had also been appointed by Proclamation, through all the dominions of Great Britain.

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BEFORE the close of the navigation, the Governor and Intendant prepared their several dispatches for the government, and Mr. Cannon was charged with them. Taking advantage of a thick fog, and a south west wind, he passed Quebec unobserved, and arrived safe in France. De Vaudreuil in his dispatch threw much censure on De Ramsay for his precipitate surrender of the city. As provisions of all kinds were much wanted, the Governor issued an order that the inhabitants should furnish Cadet and his assistants with whatever quantity he might want. His agents collected in virtue of this order, a vast number of cattle on the south shore, which were forwarded on under a guard, commanded by Captain St. Martin of the Marine. General Murray, who had been apprized of his arrival at Pointe Levi, ordered out detachments to intercept him, but after a small skirmishing, he got off with the loss only of a few men. In the course of the winter, provisions of all kinds became extremely scarce, and what could be had, was at an enormous price. Wheat was commonly sold at thirty and forty livres per bushel, a cow was worth

CHAP. nine hundred livres, a pair of oxen fifteen hundred to  
 VII. two thousand livres, a dozen of eggs nine livres, a  
 pound of butter from twelve to fifteen livres, and a  
 sheep from two to three hundred livres a piece. The  
 prices were so extremely intolerable and enormous, that  
 many persons actually died for want of the necessities  
 of life. The farmers in the Country kept up the price  
 of their wheat and flour, and when even specie was of-  
 fered them, to induce them to sell these articles cheap-  
 er, they refused, saying, they did not want money, as  
 their horses shoe's were made of silver.

DE VAUDREUIL, incessantly wedded to the old sys-  
 tem with regard to the Indians, sent belts to all the  
 Five Nations, to induce them to meet him, and hear  
 what he had to say. The taking of Niagara and Que-  
 bec, served as too strong arguments to induce them to  
 pay the visit he solicited. As the winter approached,  
 it became necessary to quarter the soldiers on the in-  
 habitants of the country, and the Intendant issued an  
 ordinance, by which the price of grain was fixed, ac-  
 cording to the last tariff.

ON the twenty-fifth of November, a most unfortu-  
 nate disaster happened.—One of the French ships that  
 had been stranded on the south shore, was abandoned  
 by the crew, but before they quitted the ship, they left  
 a train of powder from the powder room to the fire  
 place in the great cabin, with a slow match, and then  
 betook themselves in their boats to a schooner. Cap-  
 tain Miller, of the English sloop of war, called the  
 Race Horse, with his Lieutenant and a number of men,  
 about forty, went and boarded her. The match being

extinguished, Mr. Miller, not suspecting the horrid snare, gave orders to strike a light, to enable them to rummage the ship, when unfortunately some of the sparks falling on loose powder, caught immediately, and blew up the vessel, so that most of the party were killed almost instantaneously, and the few survivors were in a deplorable condition. A Canadian peasant, venturing on board soon after the explosion, in search of plunder as he confessed, to his great astonishment, (for he knew not of any living creature's being in the ship,) discovered the Captain, Lieutenant, and two seamen lying in the greatest agony; finding that they were still alive, he went and alarmed the neighbourhood, and having procured assistance, he brought the unhappy sufferers, with six or seven others whom they afterwards found, to his own house, where he had them rubbed with bear's grease, and manifested every humanity in his power. In the afternoon, this man crossed the river, to make his melancholy report to the Governor, (General Murray,) who rewarded him with twenty dollars, and a quantity of salt provisions. Proper conveyances were immediately sent over for these distressed officers and men, who were lodged in the Hospital of the Ursulines Convent, where every attention was shewn them. Captain Miller, however, died the next day, and the rest recovered.

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It will be remembered that General Murray was left in the command of about five thousand men at Quebec, and that a strong squadron was stationed at Halifax, to revisit Quebec as soon as the navigation was open, and that General Amherst, the Commander in Chief, wintered at New York, to recommence his operations for the

CHAP. conquest of Canada. General Murray neglected no  
 VII. step for maintaining the important conquest of Quebec,  
 1760. and subduing all Canada. During the winter, the garrison was employed in repairing five hundred houses, damaged by the English cannon, built eight redoubts of wood, raised foot banks along the ramparts, opened embrasures, mounted artillery, blocked up the avenues of the suburbs with a stockade, removed eleven months provisions into the highest part of the city, and formed a magazine of four thousand fascines. Two hundred men were posted at St. Foix, and double that number at Lorette. The French guard at St. Augustin was brought off with a great number of cattle, and the inhabitants were disarmed, by these precautions, the dominion over a number of parishes was secured, and some fresh provisions and other necessaries were procured for the garrison. Sixteen thousand cords of wood being wanted for the troops, two hundred wood fellers were employed at St. Foix, and plenty of fuel was brought in by the men off duty. The French General having taken possession of Pointe Levi, where he formed a magazine: as soon as the River was frozen over, General Murray dispatched thither two hundred men, at whose approach the French marched off with precipitation, leaving their magazine. The English detachment took post in the church, until two wooden redoubts could be constructed, to be mounted with artillery; in the mean time the French party returned with greater force, to recover the post, which the General being apprized of, several battalions and light infantry were marched over the ice, in order to cut them off, but they fled on their approach. The severity of the winter, and the want of vegetables, were severely felt by the

soldiery, one thousand of whom before the end of April, had died of the scurvy,\* and twice that number were rendered unfit for service. The Brigadier, who had considered Quebec as nothing more than a strong Cantonment, had projected a plan of defence, by extending lines and entrenching his troops on the heights of Abraham, which at the distance of eight hundred paces, command the Ramparts of the City, and might be defended by a small force against a formidable army. Fascines, and every other necessary for the work had been provided, and the men were set upon the projected lines in the month of April, but the earth was so hardened by the frost, that it was found impracticable.

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It was at this time that the Governor, being under the necessity of borrowing money for the use of the Government, some of the troops assisted His Excellency with a loan. The privates as well as the officers of Colonel Fraser's Highlanders, by their remarkable frugality and sobriety, were enabled to distinguish themselves: the creditors were promised legal interest, until repaid.

ON the night of the eighteenth of March, two hundred light infantry were detached from the garrison of Quebec, with three days provisions, and a company of

\* The General ordered that the number of Women allowed to be victualled might receive full allowance. On a return being made of the females of each corps, it was found, that out of five hundred and seventy-nine women, not one had suffered from sickness, during the whole course of the winter.—A serjeant who had collected the return, reported them well, able to eat their allowance, and *fit for duty both by day and night.*

CHAP. VII. grenadiers marched the next day to Lorette Church, being the place of rendezvous. The whole proceeded to Calvaire, accompanied by a French deserter in a British uniform. In this route they surprized an advanced post of the French and made the party prisoners, consisting of a corporal and nine privates : having secured these, they pushed forward with the greatest speed, fearing that a straggling peasant whom they met, should mar their further views by alarming the country. The light infantry having reached the wished for object, which was a strong camp or entrenchment of logs and timber, with a house detached at a small distance from it ; they carried the dwelling house with their accustomed bravery, killed four and took the rest, being twenty in number, some of whom were wounded. The main body of the French by this time had manned their works, which were breast high, and environed with an abbatis of wood, to the distance of about three hundred yards, whence they fired a few random shot and shouted as usual. Captain Mc. Donald, who commanded this detachment, seeing the French advantageously situated, and perceiving their officers very active in encouraging their men, expected a warm dispute, and therefore made a disposition to attack them in form. As soon, however, as the light infantry advanced to the charge, the French threw down their arms, and took to flight, when near eighty of them were made prisoners. In the attack the English had only six wounded, but the French lost five killed and thirteen wounded. Captain Mc. Donald destroyed the Post, three Corn Mills, Granaries, and other Houses contiguous thereto. The French prisoners were brought to Quebec, except the wounded, who were left in charge of the peasants,

with directions to conduct them to Jacques Cartier. CHAP. VII.  
 Near one hundred soldiers of the English detachment were frost bitten, and were brought back to the garrison on sleighs. Captain Herbin, the Commanding Officer, escaped, but his watch, hat and feather, *fille de joie*, with a cask of wine, and case of *liqueurs* were taken.

THE Governor of Quebec, (General Murray), sent the Town Major to the Mother Abbess of the Convent of Hotel Dieu, to acquaint her with the reasons that induced him to destroy their Mills and tenements at Calvaire; namely, on account of her having transmitted intelligence to the French, of the last detachment's being ordered to be in readiness to march out; for having actually carried on a correspondence with the French army in the whole course of the winter, whereby they were informed of all movements, proceedings, and every other occurrence that happened within the walls; the Governor also signified to her, that if either she or her sisters should presume to correspond in future with the French, either directly or indirectly, or in any respect act contrary to good faith and the duty they owed to the King of Great Britain, they should, without further ceremony, be banished from Quebec, and their Convent be converted into a barrack for the troops. As Madame de St. Claude, who was sister to Mr. de Ramsay, and Superior of the General Hospital, had always been inimical to the English in propagating falsehoods, and in encouraging the Canadians to resist, General Murray sent the Brigade Major to signify to this lady, that she should desist from

CHAP. such conduct ; and that as she appeared to take a great  
 VII. interest in the affairs of this world, and seemed tired of  
 her seclusion, he would enlist her as a grenadier, which  
 from her stature (full six feet) she was qualified to be,  
 and that he would promote her the first opportunity  
 that presented itself.

RESPECTING the operations of the French troops, it is necessary to remark, that as the winter approached, the Chevalier de Levi retreated to Montreal, where he cantoned his troops : he resolved to postpone the siege of Quebec, until he could carry it on in a regular manner. Early in the spring he began to rig the ships, repaired the small craft, built gallies, and prepared fascines and gabions, and sent several vessels to Sorel to embark the artillery and ammunition transported there from Saint John's and Chambly. Before De Levi set out from Montreal, De Vaudreuil issued a circular letter, addressed to the Captains of Militia of the Government of Quebec, in which he observes, that from the first onset of the last campaign he had always felt for the situation in which the misfortunes of war had plunged the Canadians of the Government of Quebec, who had suffered such injuries and injustice from General Murray, which could not but excite his commiseration and his pity : that their unhappy situation, as well as their zeal for the King's service, and their attachment to their country, had increased his anxious wish to retake Quebec : that it was with this view he had collected a large train of artillery, and a powerful army, composed of King's troops, Canadians and Indians, from whose zeal and ardour the most sanguine success was to be expected : that he had resigned the chief command to the



Chevalier de Levi, on account of the public service, which required his presence at Montreal, and from a knowledge of the Chevalier's attachment, which was great, for the Canadian People: that he had well-grounded assurances of powerful assistance from France.

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ON the seventeenth of April the Chevalier de Levi left Montreal with eight battalions of Regulars, composed of four thousand five hundred men, six thousand Canadians, of whom two hundred were Cavalry, and two hundred and fifty Indians. Their provisions, heavy baggage and stores were embarked on board the King's frigates, who had on convoy schooners, batteaux and other small craft for the army.

GENERAL MURRAY, being informed of De Levi's design to cut off his posts, ordered all the bridges over the Cap Rouge to be broken down, and securing Sillery and the Foulon, he next day marched in person, with a strong detachment and two field pieces, took possession of an advantageous situation, and by this means defeated De Levi's intention. It becoming necessary to withdraw them, he in the afternoon of the same day marched back to Quebec.

ON the twenty-seventh of April, about two o'clock, the watch on board the Race Horse sloop of War, hearing a distressful noise on the river, acquainted Captain Mc. Cartney therewith, who instantly ordered out his boat, which shortly after returned with a man, whom they found almost famished on a float of ice: notwithstanding all imaginable care was taken of him, he was

CHAP. above two hours before he was able to give an account  
 VII. of himself; when the terrors of his mind had subsided and he could speak, he gave his deliverer this intelligence: That he was a serjeant of the French artillery, who with six other men, were put into a floating battery of one eighteen pounder, that his *battéau* overset in a great storm, and that his companions were drowned: that he swam and scrambled alternately, through numberless floats of ice, until he met with a large one, on which, though with great difficulty, he fixed himself: that he lay on it several hours, passed the town with the tide of ebb, which carried him near to Saint Lawrence's church, on the Island of Orleans, and was driving up again with the tide of flood, at the time the boat happily came to his relief: that the French squadron, consisting of several frigates, armed sloops, and other craft, such as galeots, floating batteries, and *bateaux* laden with ammunition, artillery, provisions, entrenching tools and stores of all kinds, were coming down to the Foulon at Sillery, where they were to join the army under Mr. de Levi and Mr. Bourlamaque, amounting to twelve thousand men: that their fleet, particularly the small craft, were separated by a storm, and many vessels were lost: that they believed they would be reinforced by a powerful fleet and army from France, before an English ship could enter the River, and that they were in the daily expectation of a frigate, laden with ammunition and stores, that had wintered at Gaspé.

DE LEVI, apprized of Murray's departure, having crossed the Cap Rouge, pushed on eleven companies of grenadiers, while the main army that followed, secu-

red the St. Foy road leading to Quebec. At nine o'clock on the morning of the twenty-eighth, De Levi having advanced within three miles of the city, he perceived General Murray at the head of his troops, marching to attack him. He formed his army in order of battle; three battalions of Regulars were posted on the right, under the command of Bourlamaque; three battalions on the left, and two in the centre. Chevalier de Levi was posted on the left, and Dumas had the direction of the centre. The lines were formed three deep, and in the intervals of the Regulars were posted the Canadians. The battalions of the Marines and Indians were very advantageously posted in the entrance of a wood. The whole French army amounted to upwards of twelve thousand men.

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BRIGADIER MURRAY states in his letter to the Secretary of State, that well weighing his peculiar situation, and well knowing, that in shutting himself up within the walls of the city, he would risk the whole stake on the single chance of defending a wretched fortification, which could not be lessened by an action in the field, gave orders, over night, of the twenty-seventh April, that the troops should hold themselves in readiness to march next morning. Early in the morning of the next day, he marched out of town with his little army of three thousand men; as soon as he saw De Levi's troops, he formed his own in order of battle; the right brigade, commanded by Colonel Burton, consisted of the Regiments of Amherst, Anstruther, Webb, and the second battalion of Royal Americans. The left, under Colonel Fraser, was composed of the Regiments of Kennedy, Lascelles, Townshend,

CHAP. and the Highlanders : Otway's Regiment, and the third  
 VII. battalion of Royal Americans constituted the Corps of  
 Reserve. Major Dalling's Corps covered the Right  
 Flank, the left was secured by Captain Hazen's company of Rangers and one hundred Volunteers under the command of Captain Donald Mc. Donald, and each battalion had a field piece.

THE English advanced with great resolution, with their field pieces in front, and their first impression was so violent that the French centre gave way. The French grenadiers were dispossessed by Major Dalling of a house and wind mill which covered their left flank, and were pursued by the English light infantry, to a corps formed to sustain them. The French Commander, perceiving the light infantry endeavouring to regain their flank, furiously charged them, by which they were thrown into such disorder, that they retreated to the rear, and could not again be brought into action. The French attempted, though in vain, to penetrate the right wing, for the support of which, Otway's Regiment from the reserve was ordered to advance ; in the mean time, the Right Wing of the French was attacked by the left Brigade of British troops, who, though they dispossessed the French of two redoubts, were overpowered by numbers, and reduced to a handful of men, though supported by a regiment from the Reserve, and another from the Centre. At this moment, a fresh column of the Regiment of Royal Roussillon penetrated the Left Wing of the British Army, when it gave way : the disorder soon communicated to the Right, and after an obstinate dispute of an hour and three quarters, Brigadier Murray quitted the field of

battle, with the loss of one thousand men killed or wounded, and the greater part of his artillery. The French computed their loss at eighteen hundred men killed and wounded. The French officers gave quarter to several English officers, but they refused it to others : four officers being taken, and conducted to some officers of the Regiment *de la Sarre*, they waved their hands, and cried out—*Allez-vous en, allez-vous en*. Of the immense number of wounded men who had been unavoidably left on the field of battle, twenty-eight only were sent to the hospital, the rest were given up as victims to glut the rage of their Savage allies.

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The Brigadier again retired within the walls of Quebec, prosecuted the fortifications of the place, raised two Cavaliers, contrived out works, and planted the ramparts with one hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery, dragged thither mostly by the soldiery.

LATE on the evening of the twenty-eighth of April, General Murray issued an order, stating, That though the twenty-eighth of April had been unfortunate to the British Arms, yet that affairs were not so desperate as to be irretrievable ; that he had often experienced the bravery of the troops he commanded, and was sensible that they would endeavour to regain what they had lost. That the fleet was to be expected, and reinforcements were at hand ; that he exhorted officers and men patiently to undergo the fatigues they had to suffer, and entreated them, cheerfully to expose themselves to some dangers ; a duty they owed to their King, their Country, and to themselves.

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THE Chevalier de Levi broke ground on the very evening of the battle, within eight hundred yards of the walls, and on the tenth of May opened his batteries, consisting of thirteen guns and two mortars, which cannonaded the place with great vivacity. They made no other approaches, waiting the arrival of their ships.\*

LORD COLVILLE had sailed from Halifax with the fleet under his command, on the twenty-second day of April, but was retarded in his passage up the St. Lawrence, by contrary winds and great shoals of ice floating down the river. Commodore Swanton, who had sailed from England with a small reinforcement, arrived about the beginning of May at Bic, where he proposed waiting the arrival of the rest of his squadron, separated from him on the passage. The Lowestoffe, Captain, Dean, one of them, had entered the harbour of Quebec on the ninth of May, and communicated to the Governor the joyful news of the Squadron being in the River. As soon as the Commodore received information of Quebec being besieged, he sailed up the River, and on the fifteenth, anchored above Pointe Levi. General Murray having expressed his wish, that the French Squadron, consisting of the two frigates, l'Atalante of thirty-six guns, la Pomone of thirty-two, two armed ships, and a number of smaller vessels, might be removed, the Commodore ordered Captain Schomberg of the Diana, and Captain Dean of the Leowstoffs, to slip

\* As four officers of the forty-third Regiment were sitting on the ground, in a soldier's tent, eating a dish of pease porridge, a shell pitched within a yard of the door of the tent, and they had barely time to stretch themselves at their length, when the shell burst; but by being extended flat on the ground, they happily received no other damage than losing their mess, which was overturned in the bustle.

their cables next morning, and attack the fleet ; as soon as they were under way, the French ships fled in the utmost disorder ; one of the frigates was driven on shore above Cape Diamond, the other ran ashore and was burnt at Pointe aux Trembles, and the rest were totally destroyed.

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ON the news of the arrival of the English fleet, De Levi in the course of the following night raised the siege of Quebec, and retreated with great precipitation, leaving his provisions, implements and artillery. General Murray had proposed a vigorous sally in the morning, to penetrate into their Camp, and had selected a body of troops, who were under arms, when from a detachment that went out, he received certain intelligence that the French had abandoned their works. He instantly marched out with his troops, in hopes of overtaking their rear, but they had passed the River Cap-Rouge. Several prisoners were, however taken, and a great quantity of baggage, including their tents, stores, magazines of provisions and ammunition, with thirty-four pieces of battering cannon, six mortars, four petards, a great quantity of scaling ladders, entrenching tools, and every other equipment for a siege. The French army retired to Jacques Cartier, and afterwards proceeded on to Montreal, where the last stand was to be made against the efforts of the English.

THE siege of Quebec, though it lasted but a short time, furnished many opportunities to the officers of the different French departments to make money. The public money was paid away with the utmost profusion,

CHAP. VII. and all took good care to make the most of their situations; estimates of articles to a considerable amount, were fraudulently authorized by the Engineers, and paid by the Intendant at Montreal. One of the articles charged Government, was the furnishing of three hundred thousand mockasins for the Savages, for which Cadet, who had the supplying of this article, in the name of his Clerk, charged Government no less a sum than three hundred thousand livres. From this charge alone, it is easily to be conceived, to what extent this speculation went, every one being eagerly intent on making money, and equally indifferent as to the means by which it was to be acquired. Large supplies were constantly provided for the army, the major part of which became the property of the Contractors, who resold to Government at advanced prices, what they had so infamously purloined.

THE siege of Quebec was called De Levi's Folly: both he and De Vaudreuil had been advised not to attempt to besiege it, but merely to blockade it until succours from France should arrive. In that case, they might have attempted it with some prospect of success, but if the English fleet should have arrived first, they would be compelled to make a shameful retreat.

IMMEDIATELY after the departure of De Levi, General Murray, sent out a small party to level the works they had erected. On the twenty-second of May\* he thought it advisable to issue a proclamation address-

\* On the thirtieth of May, a native of the Parish of St. Michel, was hanged in sight of his own hamlet, for having exerted his utmost endeavours to spirit up his countrymen to revolt, and drawing several of his own company, he being a Captain of Militia, to join the French army.



sed to the inhabitants, in which he observed : That he had given the Canadians sufficient time to reflect on the folly of their late conduct, and in not following the advice he had given them, they had brought upon themselves additional miseries : that had he hearkened to a principle of resentment, they had merited by their conduct, the most rigorous punishment ; but induced by more humane sentiments, he would endeavor to rescue them from the abyss in which they had plunged themselves : that he had been apprized of all the tricks and artifices that had been used to draw them into the snare, and that these impositions formed their best apology : that the most generous nation on Earth, again offered them its protection, and that their former conduct should be forgotten, if they should demonstrate by their future behaviour, that they were worthy of such a distinguished clemency : that the King, at the same time that he was desirous of possessing Canada, would not wish to reign over a desolate Province : that the inhabitants should enjoy their Religion, Laws and Customs, upon submission to his commands : that France, deprived of resources, could not assist them, her marine annihilated by the defeats of her fleet ; and that Conflans and De la Clue with their squadrons, dared not keep the sea : that the Bills of Exchange still undischarged, and the total depreciation of the paper money of the Country, presented to the Colony a train of misfortunes, to which there appeared no end ; if they wished tranquility and peace, that their only resource left, was to be united with a nation, abounding in riches and prosperity : that they should withdraw themselves from the army, lay down their arms, remain at home, and give no assistance to the enemy : and that on these conditions, no further

CHAP. waste should be committed, by which famine and pesti-  
 VII. lence, scourges from Heaven, more destructive than the  
 miseries of war, would be avoided, and Canada be preserved from those horrors which threatened her with inevitable destruction.

THE Proclamation, which had a very wide circulation, was attended with happy effects. It lessened the ardour of the Canadians, and damped their spirits in the French cause. Several copies had been received at Montreal, and so enraged was the French General, that he threatened to hang up any person found with one in his possession. He did not even spare the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who had got a copy, who retorted, that the best mode to destroy its effects, was to laugh at it on all occasions. The proclamation was the more opportunely issued, as at this time, news had been received of General Amherst's intended descent by the River Saint Lawrence, and certain accounts from France which threw the whole Colony in the greatest consternation, that the Bills of Exchange that had been drawn in the preceding year were yet unpaid, and the power of the Intendant to draw in future, was suspended.—This news threw the inhabitants into the utmost despair. Vast quantities of the paper money was in circulation, and no means could be adopted to get it paid. The Intendant's system of finance had long been the subject of animadversion, and the Court of France had sent over as Commissioner Mons. de Trémes, who was to consult with the Intendant, on the best means to be pursued for that department: situated as he found affairs on his arrival in this country, he declined taking charge of this business, and confined himself entirely to another part of

his instructions, by which he was directed by the Minister, to collect all the information he could respecting the Colony, and transmit it to the Court. The Commissioner, who was a man of talents and penetration, early discovered the horrid practices of speculation, and in his observations, he detailed to the Minister, circumstances which confirmed what had been so often asserted respecting the nefarious conduct of the Society. It was in consequence of these representations, that the Council of State resolved, That no further payments should be made, without undergoing the strictest examination ; but as it was necessary to support the credit of the currency of the Country, as long as the King's troops remained in it, instructions were forwarded both to the Governor and Intendant for their conduct, with directions to impart to the people the arrangements that had been made respecting the Bills of Exchange. Vaudreuil and Bigot, especially the latter, saw the storm that was gathering, and that it would burst on their heads, but knew not how to get rid of it. To carry into execution the orders they had received, they wrote a joint circular letter addressed to the People of Canada, in which they observed: That they had lately received a letter from the Minister, directing them to make known His Majesty's sentiments, that circumstances had taken place, which obliged his Majesty to suspend the payment of the Bills of Exchange drawn on the Treasury : that those drawn in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven and one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight would be discharged three months after Peace should be concluded, with interest from the time they became due : that the Bills of one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, should be discharged in eighteen months, and that the

CHAP. VII. paper Bills would be paid as soon as circumstances would permit: that they were directed to assure His Majesty's Subjects, that nothing short of a total want of specie in the Treasury, would have compelled him to this conduct towards those who have given so many proofs of fidelity and attachment, and on whom he now relied with confidence, patiently to wait till the period when their debts will be finally adjusted.

THE Bishop of Quebec was also earnestly entreated by Government, to co-operate with the Governor and Intendant to appease and pacify the people, and to assure them, that means would be adopted to liquidate their demands. There cannot be a doubt but that the infamous peculations carried on in this country materially assisted in bringing on the general derangement of the finances of France that took place the year before.

IN the early settlement of Canada, there had been but little specie in it, and whatever sums of money that had been imported, were remitted to France, to purchase goods and other articles wanted by the inhabitants. The Court of France, with the view of increasing the quantity of money, issued, in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy, a particular coin for all the French settlements in America, and directed, that its value should be one fourth more than it passed current at in France. This expedient had not the effect expected, which led the Government to substitute *le papier aux metaux*, which answered every purpose, both in paying the troops and the other expences of Government, until the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty, when the Government of France, not having made any provision for the

redemption of the Stock, they sunk into discredit and became of little or no value. This circumstance again introduced the use of gold and silver; but the merchants finding remittances in cash, both hazardous and difficult, presented a memorial to the King of France, requesting the introduction of paper money : card money, (ordonnances,\*) was then introduced. On each card was stamped the arms of the King of France, and each was signed, by the Governor, Intendant and Comptroller. These Bills were of different denominations, from a thousand livres to fifteen sous, and were preferred by the inhabitants to specie, and answered every purpose for which they were intended. In the month of October of every year, the holder was at liberty to bring these Ordonnances to the Intendant's Office, and had a right to demand Bills of Exchange on old France in payment. This right gave the paper currency even a preference over ready cash, for the Government would not take cash for Bills of Exchange. Although the inhabitants might have brought all their ordonnances, to the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine for payment, yet being as current as cash, considerable quantities remained in circulation ; as a proof of which, it may be mentioned, that there were extant, some of the ordonnances of the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine. It was at this period, that the Intendant, and others concerned in the government of Canada, issued considerable quantities of Bills of Exchange, which they

CHAR.  
VIL.

\* The form of the Ordonnances was this :

20 Sols—Colonies, 1757.—Depenses Générales, No. 44195.

Il sera tenu compte par le Roi, au mois d'Octobre prochain, de la somme de vingt sols, valeur en la soumission du Trésorier, restée au Bureau du Contrôle  
---à Québec, le premier de Juin, 1757.—BIGOT.

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pretended were for the use of Government, but as the French Court charged them with mal-administration, this point continued in dispute until judgment was passed in France on Bigot, and the other speculators, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three. Bigot was banished from France for life, the others for a shorter period. They were moreover condemned to make restitution of several sums in proportion to the frauds of which they had been found guilty. As the Canadians had always had great confidence in Bigot, who they supposed, had been vested with full powers from the Court of France, they continued to take the Bills as usual, and in general paid the full value for them. Upwards of four millions and a half sterling of this paper remained at the conquest, unpaid. These Bills, immediately after that event, became of little or no value :\* but by an arrangement with the French Government, at the Peace, Great Britain obtained for her new subjects, three millions in *contracts*, and six hundred thousand livres in money. †

THE Commissary General's Clerk at La Chine, stated a charge in his account of sixty thousand livres for

\* The following lines were stuck up in several parts of Paris :

Etes vous Citoyens ? l'occasion est belle,  
Pour acheter une Paix, vendez votre vaiselle,  
On vous en payera un quart, en argent sec,  
Les autres trois quarts, en Billets sur Quebec.

*Translation.*

Let us melt up our plate, who hoard up the dross,  
When Lewis assures us we'll suffer no loss,  
One fourth will be paid us, I'll venture my neck,  
In Cash, and three-fourths by good drafts on Quebec.

† Paper money has again been introduced in this Province, (1812.) The Commander of the Forces, His Excellency Sir GEORGE PREVOST, has issued Notes payable on demand, in Bills of Exchange upon the Paymaster General of the Forces.... These Notes have been circulated under the name of ARMY BILLS, and have hitherto answered the purposes for which they were designed. Their circulation has been aided by an Act of the Legislature, in August 1812.-- It may be remarked, that as long as the amount thrown into circulation, is regulated by the dictates of prudence, the paper emitted, may circulate at par, or rather at silver value ; and on the contrary, if the issues are excessive, the paper may sustain a diminution of value, from too great an augmentation of its quantity.

transportation of the King's stores up the river St. Lawrence, and to induce the Controlling Clerk to approve them, a considerable present was made to him in money. The Clerk a few years before this had been in very distressed circumstances: the fortunate situation of his house and farm near La Chine for the embarkation of Stores for the Upper Country afforded an opportunity of making his fortune. He took every opportunity of robbing the provisions intrusted to his care, and the biscuit which he was to furnish the men conducting the King's batteaux was so bad that it was brought back and again served out to the parties that followed in succession. The Commissary General was authorized to compel the Inhabitants, as Militia, to navigate the batteaux, and as it frequently happened, that these men, lived far distant from Lachine, and could not wait the Clerk's convenience to pay them what was allowed them, (who took care to increase their impatience by declaring that he had no money,) he by these means retained into his hands, the allowance granted by government. Loud complaints were made against him, but he consoled him with his riches, supported as he was by the powerful interest of his friend, the Commissary General. The Intendant, who had the general superintendence of finance, was much censured for his conduct, and private letters were received, announcing to him the King's determination that he should be speedily recalled.

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As certain accounts had been received, that the Colony would be attacked by General Amherst, by the way of Oswego, by Colonel Haviland, by the route of

CHAP. VII. Lake Champlain, while General Murray should advance with the troops that could be spared from the garrison of Quebec. The Marquis de Vaudreuil had determined to make Montreal his head quarters, where he proposed making his last stand against the efforts of the British arms. He levied his forces, collected magazines and erected new fortifications for the defence of that city. Works were also thrown up on the Island of St. Helen's, and four of the largest sloops were converted into armed vessels. Bourlamaque commanded on the South Shore, a strong detachment of Regulars and Canadians, a part of which was stationed at Varennes, while he with the main body, took post at Longueuil. To impede as much as possible the progress of General Murray, and to obstruct the navigation of the River, an Engineer was sent to reconnoitre the Islands above Lake St. Peter, and to throw up works, to prevent Ships passing up the Channel. A small entrenchment was made on one of the Islands, which answered no purpose, another channel having been discovered, through which General Murray afterwards passed.\*

\* The following letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the officers of the Canadian Militia, demonstrates the necessity of his affairs, and the shifts to which he was reduced :...

SIR,

Montreal, June 3, 1760.

" The Chevalier de Levi is just returned to this Town, he has repeated to me the strong testimony he had before given me, of the good will, the zeal and ardour of your Company of Militia.

" I expected no less from the fidelity of the brave Canadians, and from their attachment to their native Country.

" His Majesty, who is by this time probably informed of your brilliant victory, will be no less pleased with this, than affected with the distresses of the Colony ; so that supposing that a Peace has not been concluded on the receipt of this news, the King of England cannot possibly avoid subscribing such terms as our Monarch shall have imposed upon him.

" You are not uninformed of the great advantages which he gained in Europe during the last campaign, over the English and Prussians.



GENERAL MURRAY having left a considerable force at Quebec, proceeded with the remainder of the garrison on the fifteenth of June up the river, to meet General Amherst, then on his way down the Saint Lawrence, to attack

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"The prisoners which are bringing in every moment, all agree in confirming them.

"The truth is, His Majesty is in person in Holland, with an army of two hundred thousand men, the Prince de Conti in Germany, with one hundred thousand, and the Princes of Deux Ponts and Soubise command the army of the Empire of two hundred thousand men, and lastly, the Empress of Russia and the Queen of Hungary have joined their whole force and were taking measures for the conquest of the remainder of His Prussian Majesty's dominions:... Besides this, the last accounts assure us, that the garrisons of Fort Frederick, Niagara and Chouagan (Oswego) have suffered greatly by sickness, which is not yet stopped, and that the regular troops in New England are reduced to nothing.

"General Murray, therefore, has dispersed Manifestoes to no purpose, to magnify his own nation, to pacify the Canadians, to engage them to lay down their arms, to discredit our Bills of Exchange and our Currency, at the same time that the English Traders are eager to procure them, because they have been regularly paid.

"You see, Sir, that the Colony is drawing to the end of its hardships and distresses, and that it is upon the point of seeing plenty succeed to scarcity.

"If the English make any attempt, it can have no other object than the ambition of their Generals; we are prepared to repulse them with spirit: we shall have a train of artillery, besides that which we took from the enemy; a still greater proportion of powder, ball and ammunition for the operations which I have projected; we have also Provisions enough, by means of the resources which we shall find in the good will of the Canadians, who have the greatest interest in the preservation of their Religion and Liberty; the King's troops would even live if necessary, upon roots, when they cannot do better, and will not fail to join their endeavours to those of the Brave Canadians.

"My intention then, is, that you, and all your Militia, should hold yourselves ready to march, with arms, baggage, and eight day's provisions, to our frontiers, when the case shall require it.

"I believe I may venture to assure you, that these will be the last dispositions which I shall have occasion to make for the defence of this Colony, being firmly convinced, that some time in August, at least, we shall have Peace, Provisions and, in general, whatever we want."

I am, &c.

P. S. You will assemble the Militia of your Company, and read this letter to them; you will carefully inspect their arms, and if any of them are out of order, you will give them a note, and the King's Gunsmiths will repair them immediately.

CHAP. VII. the city of Montreal; at seven o'clock in the evening of the same day they came in sight of Jacques Cartier, a fortress erected by the French, on a bold, and commanding eminence; its works consisted of fascines, earth and stockades, with felled trees laid from the summit of the height to the water's edge, extending a considerable way above and below the fort. As General Murray conceived the reduction of this post an object of great importance, he sent an order to Colonel Fraser, to push forward a detachment of troops, from Quebec, of which he had the command, consisting of about nine hundred men to reduce that fortress. The armament proceeded up the river, and landed above the fort without opposition, and instantly possessed themselves of an advantageous piece of ground, which by its unevenness, saved the Colonel the trouble of erecting any cover, either for his guns or his men. Colonel Fraser having secured all the avenues from the Fort to the Country, the detachment lay on their arms until next morning, when a small party having advanced to reconnoitre the works of the place, and the ships having fallen lower down, the garrison was alarmed, and the drums beat to arms. The Marquis d'Albergotti, the commanding officer was then summoned in form to surrender, but he refused with great parade, sarcastically returning an answer; *that he would defend his Post to the last extremity.* The Colonel then ordered up two field pieces, and as many howitzers, under cover of a rising ground, to play upon the Fort, and at the same time formed his corps into three divisions, being determined to storm the place without loss of time; all things being prepared, the assailants boldly advanced to the attack, which the Marquis perceiving, instantly beat a *chamade*, and surrendered at

discretion. The garrison consisted of two lieutenants and fifty Regulars, with one hundred and fifty Militia, two gunners, a few indifferent guns, with a trifling proportion of ammunition, but no provisions, except a few calves, pigs and poultry. After the garrison were embarked, and the usual oath tendered to the Canadians, they were permitted to disperse to their respective habitations. The Colonel then left a Captain, two Subalterns and a small party of soldiers at Jacques Cartier, and returned with the remainder of the detachment and prisoners by land to Quebec. The works of the place were in good condition, and very tenable against musquetry, but too extensive, as they could not be defended by a garrison less than fifteen hundred men. General Murray advanced towards the rapids of the Richelieu, and in passing them was fired upon from a battery of eight guns, posted at the church of Dechambault, and from two large galleots head, which were soon beat off by the floating batteries attached to the English fleet, but not without the loss, however, of a lieutenant and three privates of the seventy-eighth regiment, and a few others wounded. A party was then ordered to land on the south shore at St. Croix, where a French party, under the command of a lieutenant had taken post; the French troops were attacked, and the whole of them either killed, wounded or taken prisoners. The inhabitants, terrified at the approach of the English, abandoned their habitations and retired to the woods. The captives being secured, the English party returned to their boats, and were reimbar-  
 ked. The General and Colonel Burton, accompanied by Captain Dean, with a detachment of eighty men and four floating batteries passed the rapids to join the division at anchor off Grondines; when near that place they

CHAP. were fired upon from a French Battery at the point, but  
 VII. received little or no injury ; at their junction, they spied  
 a large batteau, deeply laden, rowing along shore near  
 to Dechambault, whereupon a floating battery was sent  
 to chastise them, and having caused the hands to abandon  
 the vessel, one of the English pinnaces put off,  
 took the batteau, and brought her away, under a heavy  
 discharge of musquetry. The cargo consisted of flour,  
 meal, and barley. In the evening the General and the  
 party returned to their ships. They had taken a circuit  
 of twenty miles, saw many of the inhabitants, some  
 of whom delivered up their arms, and declared, that it  
 was with the greatest reluctance on their part that they  
 made any resistance, that they hoped the contest would  
 be decided in favour of the English, that they might remain  
 in quietness and peace : that they were rejoiced at the  
 landing, as it furnished them with an excuse to return  
 to their habitations, and cease all further hostilities.—  
 The fleet being detained several days by contrary winds,  
 the troops were landed for refreshment, and the French  
 Lieutenant who had been wounded at St. Croix died,  
 and his corpse was sent to Dechambault and buried there.  
 The whole parish of St. Croix surrendered, as well as  
 that of Lotbiniere, who delivered up their arms, and took  
 the oath of neutrality. The General addressed these people  
 in language to this effect :—  
 “ Who can carry on or support the war, without ships,  
 artillery, ammunition or provisions ? at whose mercy are  
 your habitations and that harvest which you expect to  
 reap this summer, together with all you are possessed of  
 in this world ? therefore consider your interest and  
 provoke us no more.” Then, turning to a Priest, he  
 subjoined,—“ the Clergy\* are the source of all the mis-

\* Knox's Historical Journal.

chiefs that have befallen the poor Canadians, whom they keep in ignorance and excite to wickedness and to their own ruin. No doubt you have heard that I have hanged a Captain of Militia ; that I have a Priest and some Jesuits on board a ship of war, to be transmitted to Great Britain ; beware of the snare they have fallen into : *preach the gospel*, which alone is your province : adhere to your duty, and do not presume, directly or indirectly to intermeddle with military matters, or the quarrel between the two crowns.”—General Murray having received intelligence that a body of Indians had been sent to the south shore, to annoy and pick off the English troops, dispatched a flag of truce to Mr. Dumas at Dechambault, to assure him, that if the Indians were not instantly recalled, or any barbarities committed, orders should be issued, that no quarter should be given either to the French Regulars or others, and that the Country should undergo military execution wherever the English troops might land. The parish of St. Antoine delivered up their arms, and took the oath of neutrality. The General, to make it as impressive as possible, ordered the Inhabitants to stand in a circle, to hold up their right hands, each repeating his own name, and then say :—“ Do severally swear, in the presence  
 “ of Almighty God, that we will not take up arms a-  
 “ gainst George the Second, King of Great Britain, or  
 “ against his troops or subjects ; nor give any intelli-  
 “ gence to his enemies directly or indirectly :—So help me God.” A serjeant of the French Regulars, disguised in the habit of a Canadian peasant, having been sent by the French to the south shore in the capacity of a spy, was discovered and brought to the General ; being exam-

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CHAP. ined, he produced a forged letter in his vindication, from a  
 VII. Captain of Militia, who being immediately sent for, made oath, that the man was an entire stranger to him, and the letter was not his hand writing. After the sergeant had undergone a strict examination, and the men having sworn to his serving in the character of a spy last year, he was condemned to be hanged, except he would make some important discoveries, and was accordingly reconducted ashore for execution; being brought to the fatal tree, he stepped up to the commanding officer, and requested he would remand him to the frigate, and he would satisfy the General in every particular he wished to be informed of. This being complied with, he stated:—that the whole force of the French, between Three Rivers and Quebec, consisted of seven Picquets, and one company of Grenadiers, amounting to four hundred men; that two battalions of Regulars, with a body of Canadians and Indians were posted at Isle Royale, Isle aux Noix, La Galette, and that the remainder of the French army were cantoned between Three Rivers and Montreal, who, on the first signal, were to repair, without loss of time, to the Island of Montreal, and defend it to the last extremity: that Montreal was a place of no strength, with no artillery except the brass field pieces taken on the twenty-eighth of April, and at Three Rivers there were only thirty men, with six pieces of cannon and one mortar: that the English armament had struck the greatest terror: that the Canadians were abandoning their posts, and the French army, dissatisfied and mutinous.—The fleet having unmoored, proceeded up the River, and anchored off Batiscan Camp; a great number of Canadians crossing the River St. Anne on the north shore, the floating batteries

made towards them, and obliged them to retire : another division being assembled a little way from Batiscau Church, an armed sloop and two floating batteries, edged over towards them; the Canadians advanced within reach of musquetry, fired upon the vessels and retired, having lost one man killed and several wounded. As soon as the fleet got under weigh on the succeeding day, a large body of Canadians, who had watched their motions, marched towards Three Rivers. On the south shore, the inhabitants of Becancour delivered up their arms, and took the oath of neutrality. On the eighth of August, the whole fleet got under sail, the armed vessels and floating batteries ranged themselves half Channel over, opposite to the French batteries at Three Rivers, and remained in that situation, until the whole of the convoy had passed the town. The French troops, about two thousand, lined their works, composed of a breast work on the summit of a steep sandy bank, terminating or rather communicating with two small redoubts thrown up on two points of land, with an entrenchment to a windmill, above a quarter of a mile above the town, where they had erected a strong redoubt, communicating again to a larger one on an eminence about three hundred yards north west of the mill. The fleet proceeded on, and met with no obstruction until they came to a boom higher up the river, consisting of a sixteen inch cable, run through a parcel of thick iron rings, covered with spars or clamps of wood lashed round with cordage, and moored in the centre of the Channel by a great anchor. At the two extremities, on two Islands situated rather obliquely than otherwise, were large square redoubts, so shaded by trees, that

CHAP. they were not perceptible until the ships advanced close  
 VII. upon them. The sailors were two hours employed in  
 removing this Boom; after which the whole fleet anchored opposite the town of Sorel. On the left side of the River Sorel the French had a post, and a garrison composed of four hundred Colony Troops, and a body of Militia; works were thrown up at the Church and Windmill, under the direction of their Chief Engineer, the Priest of the Parish; and a little higher they had a square picketted Fort, with a number of swivels mounted. Mr. Bourlamaque advanced from St. Francis, with the troops he had, and assumed the command at Sorel. The inhabitants of the Islands opposite to Sorel all took the oath of neutrality, and delivered up their arms. While a division of the fleet that followed General Murray's lay off St. Francis, an Englishman went on board his ship, to demand protection for himself, nineteen of his countrymen, and ten women, who had been carried off from the English Colonies. On the commanding officer asking him why he had not surrendered to General Murray, he answered, that such was his intention, but that the Priests threatened that they should be hanged if they attempted it; at length, tired of their captivity, they had sent him, and a signal being made, the rest pushed off, and were received on board his ship. As three ships were passing Three Rivers, they were attacked with a discharge of cannon and musketry; Lord Rollo, who commanded, was the more surprised at this treatment, as the day before a Priest had been on board his ship, and had been hospitably entertained; this Priest came down to the shore, and enquiring if Lord Rollo was on board, was answered by his Lordship in person, when the Reverend JUDAS,



wishing his Lordship an agreeable passage, at a preconcerted signal, the Canadians fired on the ship from their batteries, and dragging a field piece along the shore, they continued to play on the ship until they were out of reach of their shot. The ship suffered much in her rigging; an officer had his leg shot off; the ship's carpenter lost a leg and arm, a cabin boy his thigh, and six sailors and soldiers were wounded.—General Murray having determined to make a descent, Lord Rollo landed on the twentieth of August, about two o'clock in the morning, near a mile below Sorel, burned many houses, and laid waste the greater part of the Parish, owing to the obstinate perseverance of the inhabitants in arms. After this service was performed, his Lordship marched up within view of the French works, formed the line of battle, and endeavoured, by small parties, to draw them out of their entrenchments, but they remained quiet within their works, and the troops were re-embarked. At Varennes, a detachment was landed, and meeting with two French parties, both of which advanced to the Church and centre of the parish, consisting of three hundred men, sixty of whom were Regulars, but without entrenchments; an action ensued, in which these parties were routed, several of them wounded, and twenty-four made prisoners. The English troops took possession of the Church, chapel of ease, and the adjoining houses. Scouts were sent out, and collected cattle and poultry in abundance, and then re-embarked, leaving a detachment of light infantry to keep possession of the Church and Chapel. General Murray dispersed manifestoes from thence to the neighbouring Parishes, stating, that if they would surrender, and deliver up their arms, he would forgive them; if not,

CHAP. they knew what they might expect, from the examples  
 VII. he had made ; and as to such Canadians as had incorporated themselves in the battalions of Regulars, if they would surrender by a certain day limited, he would not only re-instate them in their settlements and lands, but likewise enlarge and protect them ; but if after all they did persist, they must share the fate of the French troops, and be transported to Europe. This proclamation had such an effect, that the very evening it was issued, four hundred of them belonging to the parish of Boucherville, went to Varennes and delivered up their arms. The army being landed at the lower end of the parish of Pointe au Trembles, on the Island of Montreal, the country people brought horses to draw the artillery, for the officers to ride, besides carts for the baggage. The roads were lined with men and women, who brought pitchers and pails of milk and water for the refreshment of the soldiers, with many courteous expressions of concern, that they had no better liquor for the officers. The roads being bad, and the bridges all destroyed, the army was retarded in its march, and arriving late in the evening, they halted at Long Point, taking up their quarters in the houses and barns along the road. About nine o'clock of the next day, the army marched again, and reached their ground on the north east side of the city of Montreal, where they were encamped.

GENERAL AMHERST, who had concerted measures for carrying into execution the plan for the conquest of Canada, proceeded up the Mohawk River with his main army, consisting of ten thousand men, and arrived himself on the ninth of July at Oswego, where he found a number of batteaux provided according to

his orders, for the transportation of his army, artillery, ammunition and baggage. As soon as Sir William Johnson arrived with a large body of Indians under his command, Colonel Haldimand was detached with the Light Infantry, Grenadiers and Highlanders, to take post at the extremity of the Lake, in order to assist the armed vessels in finding a passage to la Galette. The whole army on the tenth of August embarked in batteaux, and proceeded to the River St. Lawrence, making the best of their way down it to Oswegatchie, to attack an important French post at Isle Royale. As soon as the General was near it, he made a disposition to attack that Fortress, and accordingly invested it. Batteries were erected on the nearest Islands, and, assisted by the gun boats, he cannonaded the Fort. After which a disposition was made for giving the assault, when Captain Pouchot surrendered it. General Amherst finding the Fort advantageously situated, repaired the fortifications, and left a garrison in it. From this place, down the river, the navigation is rendered extremely difficult by rapids and falls, which occasioned the loss of fourscore men, forty-six batteaux, seventeen whale boats, one row galley with artillery, stores and ammunition.

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The Marquis de Vaudreuil apprized of the approach of this army, ordered the detachments under Dumas, and Bourlamaque, for the defence of the city of Montreal. The former took possession of the entrenchments thrown up in the Quebec Suburbs, and the latter commanded at the St. John's and Recollet's Suburbs. The Island of St. Helen's was abandoned as incapable of defence, and the troops in the garrison were held in readiness for the defence of the city. On the sixth of September the English troops were landed at Lachine, on the Island of Montreal, without op-

CHAP. position, and having repaired a bridge which a small French  
 VII. party had broken down in their retreat, marched on to a  
 plain before Montreal, where they lay all night on their  
 arms. Artillery had been ordered to be brought up from  
 the landing at La Chine, to commence the siege in regular  
 form, but on the morning of the seventh, the Marquis  
 de Vaudreuil sent two officers to demand a capitulation.  
 After several letters\* had passed, the terms were agreed

\* On the seventh of September, two French officers arrived at one of the advanced posts, and desiring to be conducted to the Commander in Chief, presented him with the following Billet, dated at Montreal, from the Marquis de Vaudreuil:—"I send to your Excellency Mr. de Bougainville, Colonel of Infantry, accompanied by Mr. De Lac, a Captain of the Queen's Regiment; you may rely on all that the said Colonel shall say to your Excellency."... Upon which General Amherst replied:—"I am to thank your Excellency for the letter you honoured me with this morning, by Colonel Bougainville, since which, the terms of Capitulation which you demand have been delivered to me: I send them back to your Excellency, with those I have resolved to grant to you; and there only remains for me to desire; that your Excellency will take a determination as soon as possible, as I shall make no alteration in them. If your Excellency accepts of these conditions, you may be assured I will take care that they shall be duly executed, and that I will take a particular pleasure to alleviate your fate as much as possible, by procuring to you, and to your retinue, all the conveniences that depend upon me."... This was followed by an exchange of letters here subjoined.... "The Marquis De Vaudreuil to General Amherst...." I have received the letter with which your Excellency has honoured me this day, as well as the answer to the Articles which I had caused to be proposed to you by Mr. Bougainville. I send the said Colonel back to your Excellency, and I persuade myself, that you will allow him to make, by word of mouth, a representation to your Excellency, which I cannot dispense with myself from making."... The General having determined upon the surrender of the Colony on his own terms, declined an interview with Mr. De Bougainville, by sending Major Abercrombie to receive the foregoing letter; to which his Excellency returned the following answer;..." Major Abercrombie has this moment delivered to me the letter with which your Excellency has honoured me, in answer to that which I had addressed to you, with the conditions on which I expect Canada shall surrender: I have already had the honour to inform your Excellency, that I should not make any alteration in them. I cannot deviate from this resolution. Your Excellency will therefore be pleased to take a determination immediately, and acquaint me in your answer, whether you will accept them or not."... The

to, much more favourable than they had a right to expect, as General Murray had taken post near the town, CHAP.  
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General then received a letter from the Chevalier de Levi, which with the answer come next in succession :—" I send your Excellency Mr. de la Pause, Assistant Quarter Master General to the Army, on the subject of the too rigorous article which you impose upon the troops by the Capitulation, and to which it would not be possible for us to subscribe ; be pleased to consider the severity of that article. I flatter myself that you will be pleased to give ear to the representations that officer will make to you on my part."...When the bearer of the billet saw that the General had perused its contents, he attempted to support the Chevalier's complaint respecting the article alluded to : but his Excellency commanded him to silence, and told him...that he was fully resolved for the infamous part the troops of France had acted in exciting the Savages to perpetrate the most horrid and unheard of barbarities in the whole progress of the war, and for open treacheries, as well as flagrant breaches of faith, to manifest to all the world by this Capitulation, his detestation of such ungenerous practices and disapprobation of their conduct :...when the General had thus nobly expressed his sentiments, he dismissed Mr. de la Pause with this answer to the Chevalier :—" The letter you have sent me by Mr. de la Pause, has this instant been delivered to me. All I have to say in answer to it is, that I cannot alter in the least, the conditions which I have offered to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and I expect his definitive answer by the bearer on his return. On every other occasion I shall be happy to convince you of my consideration."...On the morning of the eighth of September, the Marquis de Vaudreuil wrote to General Amherst that he accepted the articles of Capitulation ; upon which the General sent Major Abercrombie, who was desired to bring them back signed by Vaudreuil, with the following letter :—" In order to fulfil so much the sooner, on my part, the execution of the conditions which your Excellency has just determined to accept, I would propose, that you sign the articles which I sent yesterday to your Excellency, and that you would send them back to me, by Major Abercrombie, that a duplicate may be made of them immediately, which I shall sign, and transmit to your Excellency. I repeat here the assurances of the desire I have to procure to your Excellency, and to the officers and troops under your command, all possible conveniencies and protection ; for which purpose I reckon that you will judge it proper, that I should cause possession to be taken of the gates, and place guards, immediately after the reciprocal signature of the Capitulation : however, I shall leave this to your own convenience, since I propose it only with a view of maintaining good order, and to prevent with greater certainty, any thing being attempted against the good faith and terms of Capitulation ; in order to which, I shall give the command of those troops to Colonel Haldimand, who, I am persuaded, will be agreeable to you."—Vaudreuil having

CHAP. VII. and Colonel Haviland was on the south shore, opposite Montreal. The Colonel, who had advanced by the route of Lake Champlain, appeared before the Isle aux Noix, which surrendered on his approach, the whole garrison consisting only of one officer and a few soldiers. The depôt of Provisions that had been collected at St. Thérèse for the garrisons at St. John's and Montreal, was destroyed, to prevent supplies falling into the hands of the English. Colonel Haviland, not thinking it an object of importance to reduce Chambly, at that time garrisoned by a small party under the command of Captain Lusignan in the French service, he proceeded to La Prairie, knowing that on the reduction of Montreal, that post of course must be an easy conquest.

At an hour agreed upon, Colonel Haldimand took possession of the City of Montreal\* with his detachment, and a few days after, the French troops were sent down to Quebec, and from thence to France, not to be employed again during the war.

immediately signed the Capitulation, the counterpart was immediately signed, and returned to the Marquis, with this letter;—"I have just sent to your Excellency, by Major Abercrombie, a duplicate of the Capitulation which you have signed, and in conformity thereto, and to the letters which have passed between us, I likewise send Colonel Haldimand to take possession of one of the gates of the town, in order to enforce the observation of good order, and prevent differences on both sides: I flatter myself that you will have room to be fully satisfied with my choice of the said Colonel on this occasion."

#### \* ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION

*Between their Excellencies Major General AMHERST, Commander in Chief of His Britannic Majesty's Troops and Forces in North America, on the one part, and the Marquis DE VAUDREUIL, &c. Governor and Lieutenant General for the King in Canada, on the other.*

Art. 1. Twenty-four hours after the signing of the present Capitulation, the British General shall cause the troops of His Britannic Majesty to take possession of the Gates of the Town of Montreal: and the British Garrison shall not en-

GENERAL AMHERST, immediately after the reduction of Montreal, issued out in General Orders, his CHAP. VII.

ter the place till after the French Troops shall have evacuated it....“ The whole Garrison of Montreal must lay down their arms, and shall not serve during the present war. Immediately after the signing of the present Capitulation, the King's Troops shall take possession of the gates, and shall post the guards necessary to preserve good order in the town.”

Art. 2. The Troops and the Militia who are in Garrison in the Town of Montreal, shall go out by the Gate of Quebec, with all the honours of war, six pieces of cannon and one mortar, which shall be put on board the vessel where the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall embark, with ten rounds for each piece; and the same shall be granted to the garrison of Three Rivers, as to the honours of war.... “ Referred to the next article.”

Art. 3. The troops and militia who are in garrison in the fort of Jacques Cartier, and in the Island of St. Helen, and other forts, shall be treated in the same manner, and shall have the same honours; and these troops shall go to Montreal, or the Three Rivers or Quebec; to be there embarked for the first sea port in France, by the shortest way. The troops, who are in our posts, situated on our frontiers, on the side of Acadia, at Detroit, Michilimacquinac, and other posts, shall enjoy the same honours, and be treated in the same manner.... “ All these troops are not to serve during the present war, and shall likewise lay down their arms, the rest is granted.”

Art. 4. The Militia after evacuating the above towns, forts and posts, shall return to their habitations, without being molested on any pretence whatever, on account of their having carried arms....“ Granted.”

Art. 5. The troops, who keep the field, shall raise their camp, drums beating, with their arms, baggage and artillery, to join the garrison of Montreal, and shall be treated in every respect the same.—“ These troops, as well as the others, must lay down their arms.”

Art. 6. The Subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and of his most Christian Majesty, Soldiers, Militia or Seamen, who shall have deserted or left the service of their Sovereign, and carried arms in North America, shall be on both sides pardoned for their crimes; they shall be respectively returned to their country; if not, each shall remain where he is without being sought after or molested.—“ Refused.”

Art. 7. The Magazines, the artillery, firelocks, sabres, ammunition of war, and, in general every thing that belongs to his most Christian Majesty, as well in the towns of Montreal and Three Rivers, as in the forts and posts mentioned in the Third article shall be delivered up, according to exact Inventories, to the commissaries who shall be appointed to receive the same in the name of his Britannic Majesty. Duplicates of the said Inventories shall be given to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.—“ This is every thing that can be asked on this article.”

CHAP. thanks to the Army.—That he saw with infinite pleasure,  
 VII. the success that had crowned the indefatigable ef-

Art. 8. The Officers, Soldiers, Militia, Seamen and even the Indians, detained on account of their wounds or sickness, as well as in the hospital, as in private houses, shall enjoy the privileges of the cartel, and be treated accordingly.—“The sick and wounded shall be treated the same as our own people.”

Art. 9. The British General shall engage to send back, to their own homes, the Indians, and Moraignans, who make part of his armies, immediately after the signing of the present capitulation, and, in the mean time, the better to prevent all disorders on the part of those who may not be gone away, the said Generals shall give safe guards to such persons as shall desire them, as well in the town as in the country.—“The first part refused.”—“There never have been any cruelties committed by the Indians of our army: and good order shall be preserved.”

Art. 10. His Britannic Majesty's General shall be answerable for all disorders on the part of his troops, and shall oblige them to pay the damages they may do, as well in the towns as in the country.—“Answered by the preceding article.”

Art. 11. The British General shall not oblige the Marquis de Vaudreuil to leave the town of Montreal before————— and no person shall be quartered in his house till he is gone. The Chevalier de Levis, Commander of the land forces and colony troops, the Engineers, Officers of the Artillery, and Commissary of war, shall also remain at Montreal till the said day, and shall keep their lodgings. The same shall be observed with regard to M. Bigot, Intendant, the Commissaries of Marines and writers, whom the said M. Bigot shall have occasion for, and no person shall be lodged at the Intendant's house before he shall take his departure.—“The Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all these gentlemen, shall be masters of their houses, and shall embark, when the King's ship shall be ready to sail for Europe; and all possible conveniences shall be granted them.”

Art. 12. The most convenient vessel that can be found shall be appointed to carry the Marquis de Vaudreuil, M. de Rigaud, the Governor of Montreal, and the suit of this General, by the straightest passage to the first sea port in France; and every necessary accommodation shall be made for them. This vessel shall be properly victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty: and the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall take with him his papers, without their being examined, and his equipages, plate, baggage, and also those of his retinue.—“Granted, except the archives which shall be necessary for the Government of the country.”

Art. 13. If before, or after, the embarkation of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, news of Peace should arrive, and, that by treaty, Canada should remain to his most Christian Majesty, the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall return to Quebec or Montreal; every thing shall return to its former state under the Dominion of



forts of His Majesty's Troops and faithful Subjects in America : that the Marquis de Vaudreuil had capitulated.

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his most Christian Majesty, and the present capitulation shall become null and of no effect.—“ Whatever the King may have done, on this subject, shall be “ obeyed.”

Art. 14. Two ships shall be appointed to carry to France, le Chevalier de Levis, the principal officers, and the staff of the land forces, the Engineers, officers of Artillery, and their domestics. These vessels shall likewise be victualled, and the necessary accommodation provided in them. The said officers shall take with them their papers, without being examined, and also, their equipages and baggage. Such of the said officers as shall be married, shall have liberty to take with them their wives and children, who shall also be victualled. —Granted, “ except that the Marquis de Vaudreuil and all the officers, of “ whatever rank they may be, shall faithfully deliver to us all the charts and plans of the country.

Art. 15. A vessel shall also be appointed for the passage of Mr. Bigot, the Intendant, with his suite ; in which vessel the proper accommodation shall be made for him, and the persons he shall take with him : he shall likewise embark with him his papers, which shall not be examined, his equipages, plate, baggage and those of his suite : this vessel shall be victualled as before mentioned.—“ Granted, with the same reserve, as in the preceding article.”

Art. 16. The British General shall also order the necessary and most convenient vessels to carry to France M. de Longueuil, Governor of Trois Rivières, the staff of the colony, and the Commissary of the Marine ; they shall embark therein their families, servants, baggage and equipages, and they shall be properly victualled, during the passage, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.—“ Granted.”

Art. 17. The officers and soldiers, as well as of the land forces as of the colony, and also the Marine Officers, and seamen, who are in the colony, shall be likewise embarked for France, and sufficient and convenient vessels shall be appointed for them. The land and sea officers, who shall be married, shall take with them their families, and all of them shall have liberty to embark their servants and baggage. As to the soldiers and seamen, those who are married shall take with them their wives and children, and all of them shall embark their haversacks and baggage ; these vessels shall be properly and sufficiently victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.—“ Granted.”

Art. 18. The officers, soldiers and the followers of the troops, who shall have their baggage in the fields, may send for it before they depart, without any hindrance or molestation.—“ Granted.”

Art. 19. An hospital ship shall be provided by the British General, for such of the wounded and sick officers, soldiers and seamen, as shall be in a condition to be carried to France, and shall likewise be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty. It shall be the same with regard to the other wounded and

CHAP. ed, the troops of France in Canada laid down their  
 VII. arms, not to serve again during the war, and the whole

sick officers, soldiers and sailors, as soon as they shall be recovered. They shall have liberty to carry with them their wives, children, servants and baggage; and the said soldiers and sailors shall not be solicited nor forced to enter into the service of his Britannic Majesty.—“Granted.”

Art. 20. A Commissary and one of the King's writers, shall be left to take care of the hospitals, and whatever may relate to the service of his most Christian Majesty.—“Granted.”

Art. 21. The British General shall also provide ships for carrying to France the officers of the supreme council, of justice, police, admiralty, and all other officers, having commissions or brevets from his most Christian Majesty, for them, their families, servants and equipages, as well as for the other officers: and they shall likewise be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty. They shall, however, be at liberty to stay in the colony, if they think proper to settle their affairs, or to withdraw to France whenever they think fit.—“Granted, but if they have papers relating to the government of the country, they are to be delivered up to us.”

Art. 22. If there are any Military Officers, whose affairs should require their presence in the colony till the next year, they shall have liberty to stay in it, after having obtained the permission of the Marquis de Vaudreuil for that purpose, and without being reputed prisoners of war.—“All those whose private affairs shall require their stay in the country, and who shall have the Marquis de Vaudreuil's leave for so doing, shall be allowed to remain till their affairs are settled.”

Art. 23. The Commissary for the King's provisions shall be at liberty to stay in Canada till next year, in order to be enabled to answer the debts he has contracted in the colony, on account of what he has furnished; but, if he should prefer to go to France this year, he shall be obliged to leave, till next year, a person to transact his business. This private person shall preserve, and have liberty to carry off, all his papers, without being inspected. His Clerks shall have leave to stay in the colony or go to France; and in this last case, a passage and subsistence, shall be allowed them on board the ships of his Britannic Majesty, for them, their families, and their baggage.—“Granted.”

Art. 24. The provisions and other kind of stores, which shall be found in the Magazines of the Commissary, as well in the towns of Montreal, and of the Three-Rivers, as in the country, shall be preserved to him, the said provisions belonging to him, and not to the King; and he shall be at liberty to sell them to the French and English.—“Every thing that is actually in the magazines, destined for the use of the troops, is to be delivered to the British commissary, for the King's forces.”

Art. 25. A passage to France shall likewise be granted, on board of his Britannic Majesty's ships, as well as victuals, to such officers of the Indian company as shall be willing to go thither, and they shall take with them their families,

Country had submitted to the dominion of Great Britain : that the three armies were entitled to the Gene- CHAP.  
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servants and baggage. The Chief agent of the said Company, in case he should chuse to go to France, shall be allowed to leave such person as he shall think proper till next year, to settle the affairs of the said Company, and to recover such sums as are due to them. The said chief agent shall keep possession of all the papers belonging to the said company, and they shall not be liable to inspection.—“ Granted.”

Art. 26. The said company shall be maintained in the property of the Ecarlatines, and Castors, which they may have in the town of Montreal; they shall not be touched under any pretence whatever, and the necessary Licences shall be given to the Chief Agent, to send this year his Castors to France, on board his Britannic Majesty's ships, paying the freight on the same footing as the British would pay it.—“ Granted,” with regard to what may belong to the “ company, or to private persons; but if his most Christian Majesty has any “ share in it, that must become the property of the King.”

Art. 27. The free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, shall subsist entire, in such manner that all the states and the people of the towns and countries, places and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the churches, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner, directly or indirectly. These people shall be obliged, by the English Government, to pay their Priests the tithes, and all the taxes they were used to pay under the Government of his Most Christian Majesty —“ Granted, as to “ the free exercise of their Religion, the obligation of paying the tithes to the “ Priests will depend on the King's pleasure.”

Art. 28. The Chapter, Priests, Curates and Missionaries shall continue, with an entire liberty, their exercise and functions of cures, in the parishes of the towns and countries.—“ Granted.”

Art. 29. The Grand Vicars, named by the Chapter to administer to the diocese during the vacancy of the Episcopal see, shall have liberty to dwell in the towns or country parishes, as they shall think proper, they shall at all times be free to visit the different parishes of the Diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction they exercised under the French Dominion. They shall enjoy the same rights in case of the death of the future Bishop, of which mention will be made in the following article.—“ Granted, except what “ regards the following article.”

Art. 30. If by the Treaty of Peace, Canada should remain in the power of His Britannic Majesty, his Most Christian Majesty shall continue to name the Bishop of the Colony, who shall always be of the Roman Communion, and under whose authority the people shall exercise the Roman Religion.—“ Refused.”

Art. 31. The Bishop shall, in case of need, establish new parishes, and provide for the rebuilding of his Cathedral and his episcopal palace; and, in the mean time, he shall have the liberty to dwell in the towns or parishes, as he

CHAP. VII. ral's best thanks on this occasion, and he assured them, that he would take the first opportunity of acquainting

shall judge proper. He shall be at liberty to visit his Diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction which his predecessor exercised under the French Dominion, save that an oath of fidelity, or a promise to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majesty's Service, may be required of him.—“ This article is comprised under the foregoing.”

Art. 32. The communities of Nuns shall be preserved in their constitutions and privileges ; they shall continue to observe their rules, they shall be exempted from lodging any military ; and it shall be forbid to molest them in their religious exercises, or to enter their monasteries ; safe guards shall ever be given them, if they desire them.—“ Granted.”

Art. 33. The preceding article shall likewise be executed, with regard to the communities of Jesuits and Recollects and of the house of the priests of St. Sulpice at Montreal ; these last, and the Jesuits, shall preserve their right to nominate to certain curacies and missions, as heretofore.—“ Refused till the King's pleasure be known.”

Art. 34. All the communities, and all the priests, shall preserve their moveables, the property and revenues of the Seignories and other estates which they possess in the Colony, of what nature soever they be ; and the same estates shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions.—“ Granted.”

Art. 35. If the Canons, Priests, Missionaries, the Priests of the Seminary of the foreign Missions, and of St. Sulpice, as well as the Jesuits, and the Recollects, chuse to go to France, a passage shall be granted them in his Britannic Majesty's ships, and they shall have leave to sell, in whole, or in part, the estates and moveables which they possess in the Colonies, either to the French or to the English, without the least hindrance or obstacle from the British Government.—They may take with them, or send to France, the produce of what nature soever it be, of the said goods sold, paying the freight, as mentioned in the twenty-sixth article ; and such of the said Priests, who chuse to go this year, shall be victualled during the passage, at the expence of His Britannic Majesty ; and they shall take with them their baggage.—“ They shall be masters to dispose of their estates, and to send the produce thereof, as well as their persons, and all that belongs to them to France.”

Art. 36. If by the Treaty of Peace, Canada remains to His Britannic Majesty, all the French, Canadians, Acadians, Merchants and other persons who chuse to retire to France, shall have leave so to do from the British General, who shall procure them a passage : and nevertheless, if, from this time to that decision, any French, or Canadian Merchants or other persons, shall desire to go to France ; they shall likewise have leave from the British General. Both the one and the other shall take with them their families, servants and baggage.—“ Granted.”

Art. 37. The Lords of Manors, the Military and Civil officers, the Canadi-

His Majesty with the zeal and bravery, which has al-  
ways been exerted by the officers and soldiers of the Re-  
CHAP.  
VII.

ans as well in the Towns as in the country, the French settled, or trading in the whole extent of the colony of Canada, and all other persons whatsoever, shall preserve the entire peaceable property and possession of the goods, noble and ignoble, moveable and immoveable, merchandizes, furs and other effects, even their ships; they shall not be touched, nor the least damage done to them, on any pretence whatever. They shall have liberty to keep, let or sell them, as well to the French as to the British; to take away the produce of them in Bills of exchange, furs, specie or other returns, whenever they shall judge proper to go to France, paying their freight, as in the 26th Article. They shall also have the furs which are in the posts above, and which belong to them, and may be on the way to Montreal; and, for this purpose, they shall have leave to send, this year, or the next, canoes fitted out, to fetch such of the said furs as shall have remained in those posts.—“Granted, as in the 26th article.”

Art. 38. All the people who have left Acadia, and who shall be found in Canada, including the frontiers of Canada on the side of Acadia, shall have the same treatment as the Canadians, and shall enjoy the same privileges.—“The King is to dispose of his ancient subjects: in the mean time, they shall enjoy the same privileges as the Canadians.”

Art. 39. None of the Canadians, Acadians, or French, who are now in Canada, and on the frontiers of the Colony, on the side of Acadia, Detroit, Michilimakinac, and other places and posts of the countries above, the married and unmarried soldiers remaining in Canada, shall be carried or transported into the British Colonies, or to Great Britain, and they shall not be troubled for having carried arms.—“Granted, except with regard to the Acadians.”

Art. 40. The Savages or Indian allies of his most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the Lands they inhabit; if they chuse to remain there; they shall not be molested on any pretence whatsoever, for having carried arms, and served his most Christian Majesty; they shall have, as well as the French, liberty of religion, and shall keep their missionaries. The actual Vicars General, and the Bishop, when the Episcopal See shall be filled, shall have leave to send to them new Missionaries when they shall judge it necessary.—“Granted, except the last article, which has been already refused.”

Art. 41. The French, Canadians, and Acadians of what state and condition soever, who shall remain in the Colony, shall not be forced to take arms against his Most Christian Majesty, or his Allies, directly or indirectly, on any occasion whatsoever; the British Government shall only require of them an exact neutrality.—“They become Subjects of the King.”

Art. 42. The French and Canadians shall continue to be governed according to the custom of Paris, and the laws and usages established for this country, and they shall not be subject to any other imposts than those which were esta-

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gulars and Provincial Troops, as also his faithful Indian allies : that he was confident, that when the troops were

blished under the French dominion.—“ Answered by the preceding articles, and “ particularly by the last.”

Art. 43. The Papers of the Government shall remain without exception, in the power of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and shall go to France with him. These papers shall not be examined on any pretence whatsoever.—“ Granted, with the reserve already made.”

Art. 44. The papers of the Intendancy, of the offices of Comptroller of the Marine of the ancient and new treasurers, of the King's magazines, of the offices of the Revenues and forges of St. Maurice, shall remain in the power of M. Bigot, the Intendant; and they shall be embarked for France in the same vessel with him; these papers shall not be examined.—“ The same as in “ this article.”

Art. 45. The Registers, and other papers of the Supreme Council of Quebec, of the Prévoté, and Admiralty of the said city; those of the Royal Jurisdictions of Trois Rivières and of Montreal; those of the Seigniorial Jurisdictions of the Colony; the minutes of the Acts of the Notaries of the towns and of the countries; and in general, the acts, and other papers, that may serve to prove the estates and fortunes of the citizens, shall remain in the Colony, in the rolls of the jurisdictions on which these papers depend.—“ Granted.”

Art. 46. The Inhabitants and Merchants shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, under the same favours and conditions granted to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, as well in the countries above, as the interior of the Colony.—“ Granted.”

Art. 47. The Negroes and Panis of both sexes shall remain in their quality of slaves, in the possession of the French and Canadiana to whom they belong; they shall be at liberty to keep them in their service in the Colony or to sell them; and they may also continue to bring them up in the Roman Religion.—“ Granted, except those who shall have been made prisoners.”

Art. 48. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, the General and Staff Officers of the land forces, the Governors and Staff Officers of the different places of the Colony, the Military and Civil Officers, and all other persons who shall leave the Colony, or who are already absent shall have leave to name and appoint Attornies to act for them, and in their name in the administration of their effects, moveable and immoveable, until the peace; and, if, by the Treaty between the two Crowns, Canada does not return under the French dominion, these officers, or other persons, or attornies for them, shall have leave to sell their manors, houses, and other estates, their moveables and effects, &c. to carry away or send to France, the produce thereof, either in bills of exchange, specie, furs, or other returns, as is mentioned in the 37th article.—“ Granted.”

Art. 49. The inhabitants, and other persons, who shall have suffered any damage in their goods, moveable or immoveable, which remained at Quebec,

informed that this Country is the King's, they would not disgrace themselves by the least appearance of inhumanity, or by unsoldier-like behaviour, in taking any plunder, more especially as the Canadians were now become British Subjects, and would feel the good effects of his Majesty's protection.\*

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under the faith of the capitulation of that city, may make their representations to the British Government, who shall render them due justice against the person to whom it shall belong.—“Granted.”

Art. 50. and last. The present capitulation shall be inviolably executed in all its articles, and bonâ fide, on both sides, notwithstanding any infraction, and any other pretence, with regard to the preceding capitulations, and without making use of reprisals.—“Granted.”

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Art. 51 The British General shall engage, in case any Indians remain after the surrender of this town, to prevent their coming into the towns, and that they do not, in any manner, insult the Subjects of his most Christian Majesty, —“Care shall be taken that the Indians do not insult any of the subjects of his most Christian Majesty.”

Art. 52. The troops and other subjects of his most Christian Majesty, who are to go to France, shall be embarked, at latest, fifteen days after the signing of the present capitulation.—“Answered by the XIth article.”

Art. 53. The troops and other subjects of his most Christian Majesty, who are to go to France, shall remain lodged and encamped in the town of Montreal, and other posts which they now occupy, till they shall be embarked for their departure: passports, however, shall be granted to those who shall want them, for the different places of the colony, to take care of their affairs.—“Granted.”

Art. 54. All the officers and soldiers of the troops in the service of France, who are prisoners in New-England: and who were taken in Canada, shall be sent back, as soon as possible, to France, where their ransom or exchange shall be treated of, agreeable to the cartel; and if any of these officers have affairs in Canada, they shall have leave to come there.—“Granted.”

Art. 55. As to the Officers of the Militia, the Militia and the Acadians, who are prisoners in New-England, they shall be sent back to their countries.

Done at Montreal, the 8th of September, 1760.

“VAUDREUIL.”

Granted except what regards the Acadians. Done in the Camp before Montreal, the 8th September, 1760.

“JEFFERY AMHERST.”

\* General Orders.—Camp before Montreal, Sept. 9th, 1760.

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THE French Army in Canada, comprehended in the Capitulation of Montreal, were, the second battalion de la Reine, second battalion de la Sarre, second battalion of Royal Rousillon, Languedoc, Guienne and Bearn, with the second and third battalions of Berry and two de la Marine or Colony troops, the whole number of which amounted to, four thousand and eleven men. The Militia of Canada consisted of sixty-four companies in the Government of Quebec, seven thousand nine hundred and seventy-six men : nineteen companies in the Government of Three Rivers, consisted of one thousand one hundred and fifteen men, and eighty-seven companies in the Government of Montreal, consisted of seven thousand three hundred and thirty-one men, making the total of effectives at the reduction of the Colony, twenty thousand, four hundred and thirty-three men. Upon Colonel Haldimand's taking possession of Montreal, he demanded the colours of the French regiments, as well as those of the English which had fallen into their hands in the course of the war ; the former they refused, declaring, that although each regiment had brought their colours with them from France, they found them troublesome, of little use in this woody country, and had therefore destroyed them. This answer having been transmitted to the English General at Camp ; his Excellency immediately insisted, that the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Chevalier de Levi should affirm it on their honour, which they instantly complied with, and then restored two stands of British colours that were taken from the late regiments of Pepperell and Shirley at Oswego in the infancy of the war. The other two stands were hanging in the Cathedral of Quebec, when it was destroyed during the first siege.



THUS was completed the conquest of Canada ; a conquest the most important of any that ever the British arms atchieved.

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THE Court of France had attempted to succour Montreal, and a number of store ships had been sent out in the Spring, under convoy of a frigate. Apprised of the sailing of an English squadron up the St. Lawrence, before their arrival, they put into Chaleur Bay, where Captain Byron, with his squadron from Louisbourg, attacked their whole fleet, consisting of one frigate, two store ships, and nineteen sail of smaller vessels. These he destroyed, as well as two batteries, which had been raised on shore for their protection. The town, consisting of two hundred houses, met with the same fate.

IT would be doing injustice to the chief Officers employed under General Amherst, not to insert his own account of their conduct, which he sent home to the Government in England.

“ I should not (said he) do justice to General Murray and Colonel Haviland, if I did not assure you they have executed the orders I gave them, to the utmost of my wishes. I must also beg leave to say, I am obliged to Brigadier General Gage, for the assistance he has given me, and I have taken the liberty to give, in public orders, my assurances to the three armies, that I would take the first opportunity of acquainting the King with the zeal and bravery which has always been exerted by the officers and soldiers of the Regular and Provincial Troops ; as also by his Majesty’s Indian Allies. Sir William Johnson has taken unwearied pains in keeping

CHAP. the Indians in humane bounds; and I have the plea-  
 VII. sure to assure you, that not a peasant, woman, or  
 child, has been hurt by them, or a house burnt, since I  
 entered what was the enemy's Country: I shall now use  
 my utmost endeavours for settling every thing in this  
 Country to keep a sure possession of it; and I shall imme-  
 diately dispose of the troops in such a manner, that I may  
 completely finish the forts which were begun last year,  
 and, as far as the season will permit me, I shall repair,  
 or erect such forts or posts, as may be necessary for  
 strengthening and insuring the future command of the  
 Lakes, with the possession of every part of the south  
 side of the River St. Lawrence."

GENERAL AMHERST on the thirteenth of September,  
 detached Major Rogers, with two companies of Ran-  
 gers, and a detachment of Royal Artillery, to take pos-  
 session of all the posts the French had upon the Lakes;  
 he was only able to reach Detroit, which Mr. de Bellestre  
 delivered up directly, but the season being too far ad-  
 vanced for his proceeding to Michillimackinac, he re-  
 mained at Detroit during the winter; and as soon as  
 the Lakes were navigable, set out and took possession  
 of all the French Posts in the upper parts of Canada.

MAJOR BARRE' was selected by the Commander in  
 Chief, to be the bearer of his dispatches to Mr. Secre-  
 tary Pitt, and as Captain Dean of the Diana, had con-  
 ducted the fleet from Quebec to Montreal, to the entire  
 satisfaction of every one, Lord Colville appointed him to  
 be the bearer of his dispatches to the Admiralty. His  
 Majesty received both Captain Dean and Major Barré in  
 the most gracious manner, and was pleased to order the

sum of five hundred pounds to be given to each of them, CHAP.  
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to purchase a Sword. ~

IMMEDIATELY on the reduction of Montreal, General Amherst established a Military Government, for the preservation of the public tranquility, and divided the Country into three Districts, of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers; over the first was placed General James Murray, General Thomas Gage at the head of the second, and Colonel Ralph Burton, as Commandant of the third division. Within these districts, he established several Courts of Justice, composed of Militia Officers of the Country, who decided causes brought before them in a summary manner, with an appeal to the Commanding Officer of the District. The order which constituted these Courts, was approved of by His Majesty, with a command that they should exist until Peace was restored, and Civil Government (on the event of Canada being relinquished by France to Great Britain,) could be established.

ALL the French subjects inhabiting the Frontiers, from the Bay of Fundy to the Banks of the River Saint Lawrence, and all the Indians through that tract of Country, were now subdued and subjected to the English Government. In the month of December of the preceding year, the French Colonies of Miramichi, Richebuctou, and other places lying along the Gulph of Saint Lawrence, made their submission, by Deputies to Colonel Frye, who commanded at Fort Cumberland, at Chegnecto. They afterwards renewed their submission in the most formal manner, by subscribing articles, by which they obliged themselves and the people they represented, to repair in

CHAP. VII. the Spring to Bay Verte, with all their effects and shipping, to be disposed of according to the directions of Colonel Lawrence, Governor of Halifax in Nova-Scotia. They were accompanied by two Indian Chiefs of the nation of the Micmacks, a powerful and numerous people, now become entirely dependent upon His Britannic Majesty.

A French ship of war, called, *l'Aigle*, of fifty guns, attempted late in the Autumn, to pass through the Streights of Bellisle, between Newfoundland and the Labrador Coast, on her way to Quebec, but struck on a rock in working through, and was lost ; the crew however were saved. Another French ship of war, called, the *Leopard*, of sixty guns, was so much infected with the plague, that she was burnt at Quebec, to prevent the disease spreading amongst the Inhabitants. His Britannic Majesty's ship, *Eurus*, of twenty guns, commanded by Captain John Elphinstone, being on a cruize, was overtaken by a severe storm, and wrecked near the mouth of the River St. Lawrence; the crew however were saved.

THE great object of the war between Great Britain and France being now accomplished on the part of the former, by the reduction of all Canada, and thereby disabling the French from extending their encroachments upon the English possessions, which were now fully secured, the fate of Canada became a capital consideration at the conferences for Peace, which were opened between the two Crowns, soon after the accession of his present Majesty King George the Third. General Amherst, at the Capitulation of Montreal, had insisted upon Vaudreuil's giving up all the charts and plans relating to the Colony and its dependencies ; and

according to the report of the English officers, Vau- CHAP.  
dreuil made them far more extensive than Mr. Bussy, VII.  
the French Minister at London and his Court were  
willing to admit of, but the English still insisted upon  
having the boundaries fixed as they had been describ-  
ed by Vaudreuil. This was an important article, and  
made some noise: upon which Vaudreuil wrote a  
letter\* to the Duke de Choiseul, solemnly disclaiming  
all that had been alledged by the English on that  
head, and that he had never furnished the English,  
with any maps; but that a British officer afterwards  
coming to him with a map, he told him, the limits mar-  
ked upon it, were not just, and that Louisiana not be-  
ing comprehended under the term, Canada, which he  
had always made use of, extended on one side, to the  
Carrying Place of the Miamis, which is the height of  
the lands whose rivers run into the Ouabache; and on the  
other, to the head of the river Illonois. This assertion did  
not greatly draw the attention of the people of England,  
who were divided on another head, namely, whether it  
was most eligible to give up Canada, or the French Is-  
lands that had been reduced in the West Indies. The  
Government, as well as a majority of the public were  
of opinion that, if a cession was to be made, it ought to  
be that, of the Islands; and that Canada should be re-  
tained, as best answering the original purpose of the  
war.

By the thirteenth Article of the treaty of Peace bet- 1763.  
ween Great Britain and France, signed at Paris on the  
tenth of February one thousand seven hundred and

\* Vaudreuil's Letter, dated 20th October, 1761;

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sixty three, the King of France renounced all pretensions which he had formed or might form to Nova-Scotia or Acadia in all its parts, and guaranteed the whole of it and with all its dependencies to the King of Great Britain. He also added and guaranteed to his Britannic Majesty in full right, *Canada*, with all its dependencies, as well as the Island of Cape Breton, and all other Islands and Coasts in the Gulph and River St. Lawrence, and generally every thing that depended on the said Countries, Lands, Islands, and Coasts, with the Sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian King and the Crown of France have had till now over the said Countries, Islands, lands, places, coasts and their Inhabitants, so that the most Christian King ceded and made over the whole to the said King and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee, under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned. His Britannic Majesty on his side, agreed to grant the liberty of the Catholic Religion to the Inhabitants of Canada. That his new Catholic subjects might profess the worship of their Religion, according to the Rites of the Romish Church, as far as the laws of Great Britain might permit. His Britannic Majesty further agreed, that the French Inhabitants or others, who had been subjects of the Most Christian King, in Canada, might retire with safety and freedom, whenever they might think proper, and might sell their estates, provided it be to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and might bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of

debts or of criminal prosecutions. The term limited CHAP.  
VII. for their emigration, was fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the Ratifications of Peace.

A remarkable mutiny\* happened at Quebec, on the eighteenth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three. General Murray, Governor of that place, having given orders, in consequence of injunctions from the Commander in Chief in America, that four pence sterling should be stopped for each ration of provisions to be issued to the forces under his command, consisting of the fifteenth and twenty-seventh regiments, and second battalion of the sixtieth regiment; the troops were no sooner made acquainted with this order, than, that very evening, immediately after roll-calling, they assembled to a man, but without arms, and paraded before the Governor's house. Before they saw him, some of the English merchants, having the boldness to reproach them for their behaviour, they began to pelt them with stones, some officers interfered, and drew their swords; on which the soldiers ran in a tumultuous manner to their barracks, took their arms, and marched in good order, with drums beating, towards St. John's Gate.

THEY were met by the Governor, who, in the beginning of the tumult, had in vain endeavoured to assemble the Picquets. He then came from visiting the guards, and was attended only by a few officers and serjeants, with whose assistance he opposed their going any fur-

\* Ryder's History of England 50th Vol.

CHAP. ther. Enraged at this stop, some of the mutineers fir-  
 VII. ed their pieces, but happily no mischief was done. Not-  
 withstanding the repeated instances of the Governor, they would not hear him, but loudly declared their resolution to march to New York, with two pieces of cannon, and lay their arms at General Amherst's feet ; professing, at the same time, that they had no pique at him or their officers, whom they loved and esteemed, but that it was impossible for them to live without their provisions.

ALL the officers of the garrison had now joined the Governor, and the Town Major, Lieutenant Mills, of the forty-ninth regiment, had prudently, with the few men that staid with him, shut the gates. Though the soldiers appeared mad with rage, not one man being drunk, and had already struck several officers, yet the Governor succeeded so far as to keep them together, and by that means, in all probability, prevented the town from being plundered, to which the darkness of the night was at that hour but too favorable.

By the urgent solicitations of the officers, who had exerted themselves to the utmost, on this occasion, the soldiers were at last prevailed on to march to the Grand Parade, where the Governor addressed them file by file, and did all he could to appease them, but in vain. They obstinately persisted, that they would not submit to the stoppage of provisions, but still made protestations of loyalty, and of personal regard to their officers ; and when the Governor ordered them to march to their barracks, and behave as soldiers ought, till their grievances were laid before the Commander in Chief, they



obeyed, repeating their declaration, that they would not serve without provisions. During the remainder of the night all remained quiet.

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NEXT day the guards mounted in good order as usual. General Murray called together the commissioned and non-commissioned Officers, to whom he represented the necessity of reducing the soldiers to obedience, or perishing in the attempt. This garrison being the strongest in America, should these mutineers obtain their desire, their example would have been followed by all the troops throughout America, and an universal revolt from order would have been the consequence. Their situation therefore, required the utmost exertion, and the most vigorous measures were necessary for the service of their country.

It was agreed that mild methods should be taken ; and that day and the next were spent by the officers in using all manner of persuasions, to induce the soldiers to submit to the order, but with small success. On the afternoon of the twentieth, the Governor harangued each battalion in the strongest, and most affecting manner, which seemed to have some effect. He then ordered the garrison to be under arms next day at ten o'clock, on the Grand Parade.

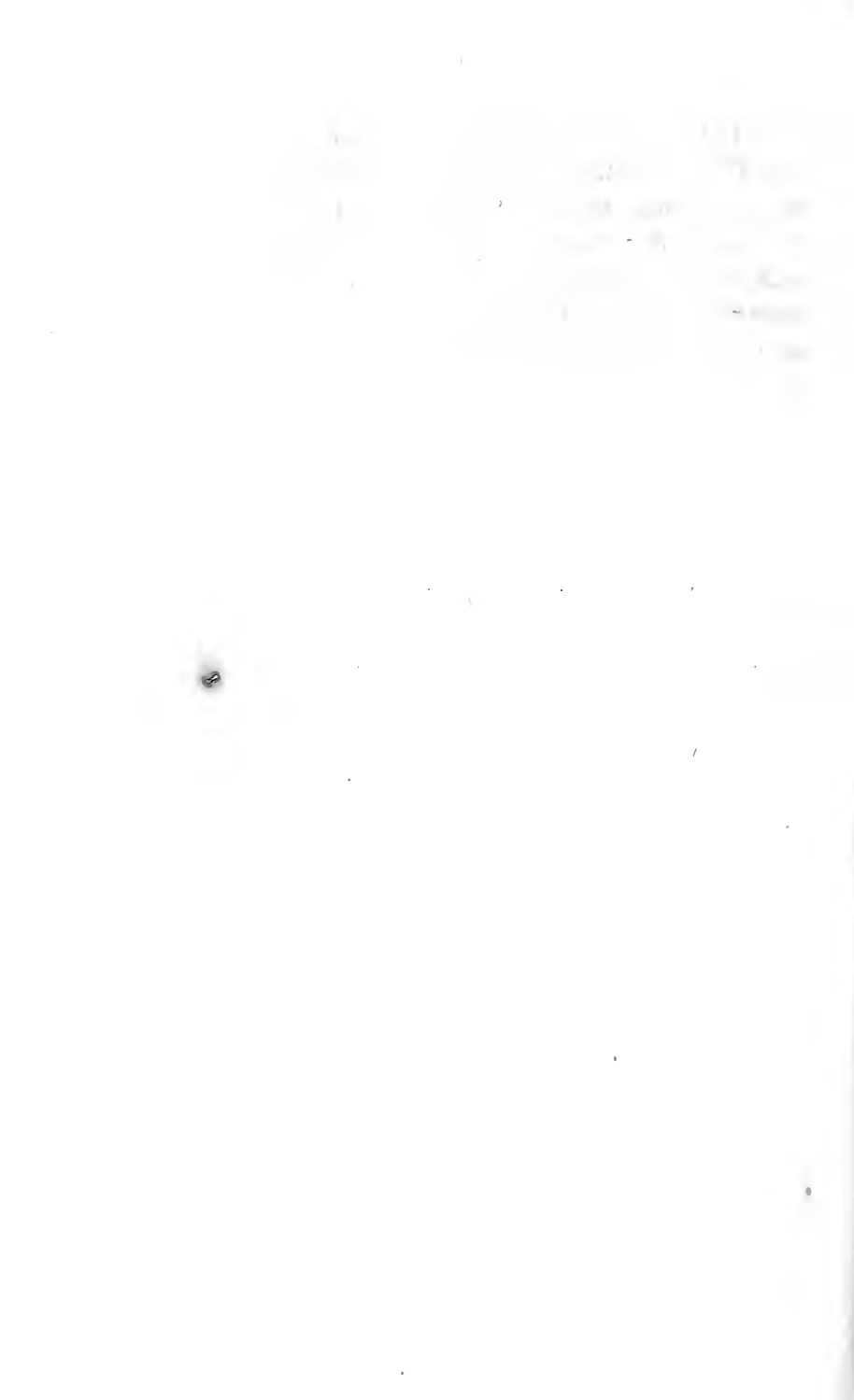
WHEN they were assembled, the Governor himself read the articles of war, and after pointing to them in the strongest terms, the enormity of their crime, he declared his fixed resolution, with the assistance of the officers, to oblige them to submit or perish in the attempt. He then went to the head of Amherst's Grenadiers, de-

CHAP. VII. terminated to put to death the first man that refused to obey. He commanded them, in sign of compliance with orders, to march betwixt two Royal Colours planted for that purpose. They did so, and returned with cheerfulness to their duty, expressing sorrow for their past behaviour ; and all the rest followed their example. The General then declared they had recovered their characters as good soldiers, and restored the battalion to their colours. Their behaviour afterwards was such as it ever was before this affair, deserving of the highest praise.

UPON a review of the system established in Canada, while under the dominion of France, it is evident that the Colony was governed by no fixed laws, and that the people were ruled in an arbitrary and despotic manner. The powers exercised by the several Governors and Intendants knew no bounds, and unrestrained by law, their decisions were dictated by the caprice of the moment. And thus it was, that the people fell victims to the tyranny of their Rulers. The hauteur of the Military, instead of being restrained within wholesome bounds, was encouraged : and supported by the government, they invariably domineered over the people. On all occasions, the protection of the Governor or Intendant was necessary to ensure success, while merit, in every instance, was over looked. Remonstrances against oppression had frequently been transmitted to the Government in France, but they were totally disregarded. Precautions were taken by persons in power here, who sent gratuities to the Minister in France, to silence these complaints, and to prevent them reaching the Royal ear. Under so corrupt a system, the wants and desires

of the Colonists were never known. How happy, then, CHAP.  
ought the Canadians to be, that God in his Providence, VII.  
has severed them from the ancient stock to which they  
belonged, and committed them to the care of a Mo-  
narch, who, by making the success of his arms the  
means of extending his beneficence, has an incontesti-  
ble right to their affectionate fidelity.

FINIS.



## APPENDIX.

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### No. I.

*COMMISSION de FRANÇOIS I. à Jacques Quartier, pour l'établissement du Canada, du 17<sup>e</sup>. Octobre, 1540.\**

**F**RANÇOIS, par la grâce de Dieu, Roi de *France* : A tous ceux qui ces présentes lettres verront ; SALUT. Comme pour le désir d'entendre et avoir connoissance de plusieurs pays qu'on dit inhabités, et autres être possédés par gens Sauvages, vivans sans connoissance de Dieu et sans usage de raison, eussions dès pie-ça, à grands frais et mises, envoyé découvrir les dits pays par plusieurs bons pilotes, et autres nos sujets de bon entendement, savoir et expérience, qui d'iceux pays nous auroient amené divers hommes que nous avons par long-tems tenus en notre Royaume, les faisant instruire en l'amour et crainte de Dieu, et de sa sainte loi et doctrine chrétienne, en intention de les faire ramener ès dits pays en compagnie de bon nombre de nos sujets de bonne volonté, afin de plus facilement induire les autres peuples d'iceux pays à croire en notre sainte foi ; et entr'autres y eussions envoyé notre cher et bien amé *Jacques Quartier*, lequel auroit découvert grands pays des terres de Canada et Hochelaga faisant un bout de l'Asie du côté de l'Occident ; lesquels pays il a trouvé (ainsi qu'il nous a rapporté) garnis de plusieurs bonnes commodités, et les peuples d'iceux bien fournis de corps et de membres, et bien disposés d'esprit et entendement ; desquels il nous a semblablement amené aucun nombre, que nous avons par long-tems fait voir et instruire en notre dite sainte foi avec nos dits sujets : en considération de quoi, et de leur bonne inclination nous avons avisé et délibéré de renvoyer le dit *Quartier* ès dits pays de Canada et Hochelaga, et jusques en la terre de Saguenai (s'il peut y aborder) avec bon nombre de navires,

\* Histoire de la Nouvelle France, par l'*Escarbot*, page 397.—et Mémoires sur les possessions en Amérique, Tome III, page 280.

et de toutes qualités, arts et industrie, pour plus avant entrer ès dits pays, converser avec les peuples d'iceux, et avec eux habiter (si besoin est) afin de mieux parvenir à notre dite intention et à faire chose agréable à Dieu notre Créateur et Rédempteur, et que soit à l'augmentation de son saint et sacré nom, et de notre Mère sainte Eglise Catholique, de laquelle nous sommes dits et nommés premier fils : Par quoi soit besoin pour meilleur ordre et expédition de la dite entreprise, députer et établir un Capitaine Général et Maître Pilote des dits navires, qui ait regard à la conduite d'iceux, et sur les gens, officiers et soldats y ordonnés et établis ; savoir faisons, que nous, à plein confians de la personne du dit *Jacques Quartier* et de ses sens, suffisance, loyauté, prudence, hardiesse, grande diligence et bonne expérience, icelui pour ces causes et autres à ce nous mouvans, avons fait, constitué et ordonné, faisons, constituons, ordonnons et établissons par ces présentes, Capitaine Général et maître Pilote de tous les navires et autres vaisseaux de mer, par nous ordonnés être menés pour la dite entreprise et expédition, pour le dit état et charge de Capitaine Général et Maître Pilote d'iceux navires et vaisseaux, avoir, tenir et exercer par le dit *Jacques Quartier*, aux honneurs, prérogatives, prééminences, franchises, libertés, gages et bienfaits, tels que par Nous lui seront pour ce ordonnés, tant qu'il nous plaira : Et lui avons donné, et donnons puissance et autorité de mettre, établir et instituer aux dits navires tels lieutenans, patrons, pilotes et autres ministres nécessaires pour le fait et conduite d'iceux, en tel nombre qu'il verra et connoitra être besoin et nécessaire pour le bien de la dite expédition. Si donnons en mandement par ces dites présentes, à notre Amiral ou Vice Amiral que prins et reçu du dit *Jacques Quartier* le serment pour ce deu et accoutumé, icelui mettent et instituent ou fassent mettre et instituer de par Nous en possession et saisine du dit état de Capitaine Général et Maître Pilote ; et d'icelui, ensemble des honneurs, prérogatives, prééminences, franchises, libertés, gages et bienfaits, tels que par Nous lui seront pour ce ordonnés, le fassent, souffrent et laissent, jouir et user pleinement et paisiblement, et à lui obéir et entendre de tous ceux, et ainsi qu'il appartiendra ès choses touchant et concernant le dit état et charge : et outre, lui fasse, souffre et permette prendre le petit Galion, appelé *l'Emérillon*, que de présent il a de Nous, lequel est ja vieil et caduc, pour servir à l'adoub de ceux des navires qui en auront besoin, et lequel nous voulons être prins et appliqué par le dit *Quartier* pour l'effet dessus dit, sans qu'il soit tenu en rendre aucun autre compte ne reliquat ; et duquel compte et reliquat nous l'avons déchargé et déchargeons par icelles présentes : par lesquels Nous mandons aussi à nos Prévôts de Paris, Bailliffs de Rouen, de Caen, d'Orléans, de Blois, et de Tours, Sénéchaux, du Maine, d'Anjou, et Guienne et à tous nos autres Bailliffs, Senéchaux, Prévôts, Alloués, et autres nos Justiciers et Officiers, tant de notre Royaume que de notre pays de Bretagne uni à icelui pardevers les quels sont aucuns prisonniers, accusés ou prévenus d'aucuns crimes quels qu'ils soient, fors de crimes de lèse-Majesté divine et humaine envers Nous, et de faux monnoyeurs, qu'ils

aient incontinent à délivrer, rendre et bailler ès mains du dit *Quartier*, ou ses Commis et Députés portans ces présentes, ou le duplicata d'icelles pour notre service en la dite entreprise et expédition, ceux des dits prisonniers qu'il connoitra être propres, suffisans et capables pour servir en icelle expédition, jusqu'au nombre de cinquante personnes, et selon le choix que le dit *Quartier* en fera, iceux premièrement jugés et condamnés selon leurs démérites et la gravité de leurs méfaits, si jugés et condamnés ne sont ; et satisfaction aussi préalablement ordonnée aux parties civiles et intéressés, si fait n'avoit été : Pour laquelle toutefois Nous ne voulons la délivrance de leur personne ès dites mains du dit *Quartier* (s'il les trouve de service) être retardée ne retenue ; mais se prendra la dite satisfaction sur leurs biens seulement : et laquelle délivrance des dits prisonniers accusés ou prévenus, Nous voulons être faite ès dits mains du dit *Quartier* pour l'effet dessus dit par nos dits Justiciers et Officiers respectivement, et par chacun d'eux en leur regard, pouvoir et juridiction, nonobstant oppositions ou appellations quelconques faites ou à faire, relevées, ou à relever, et sans que par le moyend'icelles, icelle délivrance en la manière dessus dite, soit aucunement différée : Et afin que le plus grand nombre n'en soit tiré, outre les dits cinquante, Nous voulons que la délivrance que chacun de nos dits officiers en fera au dit *Quartier*, soit écrite et certifiée en la marge de ces présentes, et que néanmoins registre en soit par eux fait et envoyé incontinent pardevers notre amé et féal Chancelier, pour connoître le nombre et la qualité de ceux qui auront été baillés et délivrés : Car tel est notre plaisir. En témoin de ce, Nous avons fait mettre notre scel à ces dites présentes. Donné à *Saint-Pris* le dixseptième jour d'Octobre, l'an de grâce, mil cinq cent quarante, et de notre règne le vingt-sixième,

Ainsi signé sur le repli, par le Roi, vous Monseigneur le Chancelier et autres présens, DE LA CHESNAIE.

Et scellé sur le repli à simple queue de cire jaune.

## No. II.

LETTRES PATENTES *De Lieutenant Général du Canada et autres Pays, pour le Sieur de la Roche, du 12e. Janvier, Mil, cinq cent, quatrevingt-dixhuit.\**

**H**ENRY, par la Grace de Dieu, Roi de *France* et de *Navarre*.  
 A tous ceux qui ces présentes Lettres verront, SALUT. Le feu Roi FRANÇOIS I. sur les avis qui lui auroient été donnés qu'aux Isles et pays de Canada, Isle de Sable, Terres-neuves et autres adjacentes, pays très fertiles et abondans en toutes sortes de commodités, il y avoit plusieurs sortes de peuples bien formés de corps et de membres, et bien disposés d'esprit et d'entendement, qui vivent sans aucune connoissance de Dieu; auroit (pour en avoir plus ample connoissance) iceux pays fait découvrir par aucuns bons Pilotes et gens à ce connoissans. Ce qu'ayant reconnu véritable, il auroit (poussé d'un zèle et affection de l'exaltation du nom Chrétien) dès le 15e. Janvier, 1540, donné pouvoir à *Jean François de la Rocque*, Sieur de *Roberval*, pour la conquête des dits pays; ce que n'ayant été exécuté dès lors, pour les grandes affaires qui seroient survenues à cette Couronne, Nous avons résolu, pour perfection d'une si belle œuvre et de si sainte et louable entreprise, au lieu du dit feu Sieur de *Roberval*, de donner la charge de cette conquête à quelque vaillant et expérimenté personnage dont la fidélité et affection à notre service nous soient connues, avec les mêmes pouvoirs, autorités, prérogatives et prééminences qui étoient accordés au dit feu Sieur de *Roberval* par les dites Lettres Patentes du dit feu Roi FRANÇOIS I. SAVOIR FAISONS que pour la bonne et entière confiance que nous avons de la personne de notre amé et féal *Troillus du Mesgoüets*, Chevalier de notre Ordre, Conseiller en notre Conseil d'Etat, et Capitaine de cinquante hommes d'armes de nos Ordonnances, le Sieur de *la Roche*, Marquis de *Cottenmeal*, Baron de *Las*, Vicomte de *Carentan* et *Saint-Lo* en *Normandie*, Vicomte de *Trévallo*, Sieur de *la Roche*, *Gommard* et *Quennoalec*, de *Gornac*, *Bontéguigno* et *Liscuit*, et de ses louables vertus, qualités et mérites; aussi de l'entière affection qu'il a au bien de notre service et avancement de nos affaires; icelui, pour ces causes et autres à ce nous mouvans, Nous avons, conformément à la volonté du feu Roi dernier décédé, notre très honoré Sieur et frère, qui jà avoit fait élection de sa personne pour l'exécution de la dite entreprise, icelui fait, faisons, créons, ordonnons et établissons par ces présentes signées de notre main, notre Lieutenant Général es dits pays de *Canada*, *Hochelaga*, *Terres-neuves*, *Labrador*, rivière de la *Grande Baye* de *Noremlégue* et terres adjacentes des dites provinces et rivières, lesquels étant de grande longueur et étendue de pays, sans icelles être habitées par sujets de nul Prince Chrétien; et pour cette sainte œuvre et aggrandissement de la Foi Catholique, établissons pour conducteur, Chef Gouverneur et Capitaine de la dite entreprise, ensemble de tous les navires, vaisseaux de mer et pareillement de toutes personnes, tant gens de guerre, mer, que

\* Histoire de la Nouvelle France par l'*Escarbot*, page 408—et Mémoires sur les possessions en Amérique, Tome III. page 310.



autres par nous ordonnés, et qui seront par lui choisis pour la dite entreprise et exécution ; avec pouvoir et mandement spécial d'élire, choisir les Capitaines, Maîtres de navires et Pilotes, commander, ordonner et disposer sous notre autorité ; prendre, emmener et faire partir des ports et havres de notre Royaume, les nefes, vaisseaux mis en appareil, équipés et munis de gens, vivres et artillerie, et autres choses nécessaires pour la dite entreprise, avec pouvoir en vertu de nos Commissions de faire la levée de gens de guerre qui seront nécessaires pour la dite entreprise, et iceux faire conduire par ses Capitaines au lieu de son embarquement, et aller, venir, passer et repasser es dits ports étrangers, descendre et entrer en iceux, et mettre en notre main, tant par voies d'amitié ou amiable composition, si faire se peut, que par force d'armes, main forte et toutes autres voies d'hostilité, assaillir villes, châteaux, forts et habitations, iceux mettre en notre obéissance, en constituer et édifier d'autres, faire loix, statuts et ordonnances politiques, iceux faire garder, observer et entretenir, faire punir les délinquans, leur pardonner, et remettre, selon qu'il verra bon être, pourvû toutefois que ce ne soient pays occupés ou étant sous la sujétion et obéissance d'aucuns Princes et Potentats, nos amis, alliés et confédérés. Et afin d'augmenter et accroître le bon vouloir, courage et affection de ceux qui serviront à l'exécution et expédition de la dite entreprise et même de ceux qui demeureront es dites terres : Nous lui avons donné pouvoir, d'icelles terres qu'il nous pourroit avoir acquises au dit voyage, faire bail, pour en jouir par ceux à qui elles seront affectées et leurs successeurs, en tous droits de propriété : A savoir, aux Gentilshommes et ceux qu'il jugera gens de mérite, en Fiefs, Seigneuries, Châtellenies, Comtés, Vicomtés, Baronnies et autres dignités relevant de nous, telles qu'il jugera convenir à leurs services ; à la charge qu'ils serviront à la tutelle et défense des dits pays et aux autres de moindre condition, à telles charges et redevances annuelles qu'il avisera, dont nous consentons qu'ils en demeurent quittes pour les six premières années, ou tel autre temps que notre dit Lieutenant avisera bon être, et connaîtra leur être nécessaire, excepté toutefois du devoir et service pour la guerre ; aussi qu'au retour de notre dit Lieutenant il puisse départir à ceux qui auront fait le voyage avec lui, les gaignages et profits mobiliers provenus de la dite entreprise et avantager du tiers ceux qui auront fait le dit voyage ; retenir un autre tiers pour lui, pour ses frais et dépens, et l'autre tiers pour être employé aux œuvres communes, fortifications du pays et frais de guerre. Et afin que notre dit Lieutenant soit mieux assisté et accompagné en la dite entreprise, nous lui avons donné pouvoir de se faire assister en la dite armée de tous Gentilshommes, Marchands et autres nos sujets qui voudront aller ou envoyer au dit voyage, payer gens et équipages, et munir nefes à leurs dépens. Ce que nous leurs défendons très expressément faire, ni trafiquer sans le sù et consentement de notre dit Lieutenant, sur peine à ceux qui seront trouvés, de perdition de tous leurs vaisseaux et marchandises. Prions aussi, et requérons tous Potentats, Princes nos alliés et confédérés, leurs Lieutenans et Sujets,

en cas que notre dit Lieutenant ait quelque besoin ou nécessité, lui donner aide, secours et confort, favoriser son entreprise. Enjoignons et commandons à tous nos sujets, en cas de rencontre par mer ou par terre, de lui être en ce secourables, et se joindre avec lui ; révoquant dès à présent tous pouvoirs qui pourroient avoir été donnés, tant par nos prédécesseurs Roi, que Nous, à quelques personnes et pour quelque cause et occasion que ce soit, au préjudice du dit Marquis notre dit Lieutenant Général. Et d'autant que pour l'effet du dit voyage, il sera besoin passer plusieurs contrats et lettres, Nous les avons dès à-présent validés et approuvés, validons et approuvons, ensemble, les seings et sceaux de notre dit Lieutenant, et d'autres par lui commis pour ce regard. Et d'autant qu'il pourroit survenir à notre dit Lieutenant quelque inconvénient de maladie, ou arriver, faute d'icelui, aussi qu'à son retour il sera besoin laisser un ou plusieurs Lieutenans, voulons et entendons qu'il en puisse nommer et constituer par testament et autrement comme bon lui semblera, avec pareil pouvoir ou partie d'icelui que lui avons donné. Et afin que notre dit Lieutenant puisse plus facilement mettre ensemble le nombre de gens qui lui est nécessaire pour le dit voyage et entreprise, tant de l'un que de l'autre sexe, Nous lui avons donné pouvoir de prendre, élire et choisir, et lever telles personnes en notre dit royaume, pays, terres et Seigneurie, qu'il connoitra être propres, utiles et nécessaires pour la dite entreprise, qui conviendront avec lui aller, lesquels il fera conduire et acheminer des lieux où ils seront par lui levés, jusqu'au lieu de l'embarquement. Et pour ce que nous ne pouvons avoir particulière connoissance des dits Pays et gens étrangers, pour plus avant spécifier le pouvoir qu'entendons donner à notre dit Lieutenant Général. Voulons et nous plait qu'il ait le même pouvoir, puissance et autorité qu'il étoit accordé par le dit feu Roi FRANÇOIS au dit Sieur *de Roberval*, encore qu'il n'y soit si particulièrement spécifié ; et qu'il puisse en cette charge faire, disposer et ordonner de toutes choses opinées et inopinées concernant la dite entreprise, comme il jugera à propos pour notre service les affaires et nécessités le requérir, et tout ainsi et comme nous même ferions et faire pourrions, si présens en personne y étions, jaçoit que le cas requit manifestement plus spécial ; validant dès-à-présent, comme pour lors, tout ce que par notre dit Lieutenant sera fait, dit, constitué, ordonné et établi, contracté, chevi et composé, tant par armes, amitié, confédération et autrement en quelque sorte et manière que se soit ou puisse être, pour raison de la dite entreprise, tant par mer que par terre. Et avons le tout approuvé, agréé et ratifié, agréons, approuvons et ratifions par ces présentes, et l'avouons et tenons, et voulons être tenu bon et valable, comme s'il avoit été par nous fait. SI DONNONS en mandement à notre amé et féal le Sieur Comte de *Chiverny*, Chancelier de France, et à nos amés et féaux Conseillers les gens tenans nos Cours de Parlement, Grand Conseil, Baillis, Sénéchaux, Prévôts, Juges et leurs Lieutenans, et tous autres nos Justiciers et Officiers, chacun en droit soi, comme il appartiendra, que notre dit Lieutenant, duquel nous avons ce jourd'hui prins et reçu le serment en tel cas accoutumé ;

ils fassent et laissent, souffrent jouir et user pleinement et paisiblement, à icelui obéir et entendre et à tous ceux qu'il appartiendra, ès choses touchant et concernant notre dite Lieutenance. MANDONS en outre à tous nos Lieutenans Généraux, Gouverneurs de nos Provinces, Amiraux, Vice Amiraux, Maîtres des ports, havres et passages, lui bailler, chacun en l'étendue de son pouvoir, aide, confort, passage, secours et assistance, et à ses gens avonés de lui, dont il aura besoin. Et d'autant que de ces présentes l'on pourra avoir affaire en plusieurs et divers lieux, Nous voulons qu'au *vidimus* d'icelles, dûment collationné par un de nos amés et féaux Conseillers Notaires ou Secrétaires, ou fait pardevant Notaires Royaux, foi soit ajoutée comme au présent original : Car tel est notre plaisir ; en témoin de quoi nous avons fait mettre notre scel ès dites présentes. Donné à Paris, le douzième jour de Janvier, l'an de Grace, mil cinq cent quatrevingt-dix-huit, et de notre règne le neuvième.

(Signé)

HENRY.

## No. III.

COURTS OF JUDICATURE ESTABLISHED IN  
CANADA BEFORE THE CONQUEST.

## AT QUEBEC.

A Court Civil and Criminal, (called the *Prevoté*) composed of a Magistrate, exercising Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction, called Lieutenant General Civil and Criminal, of a Lieutenant Particulier (who was also Judge of the Admiralty,) of a Procureur du Roi and a Clerk. This Court sat on Tuesdays and Fridays in each week, (except during the time of vacation,) exclusive of extraordinary sittings, which were granted at the request of the parties, when their cases required dispatch.

The Procureur du Roi gave his conclusions or opinion *viva voce*, in summary causes, and in writing in others; it was his duty to ground his opinion upon points of Law, or on the Ordinances of the Kingdom, or on the Edicts, Declarations and Ordinances of the King, signified by the King to be binding on this country. The Judgments of this Jurisdiction were rendered by the Lieutenant General conjointly with the Lieutenant Particulier, conformable to the opinion (*conclusions*) of the Procureur du Roi, which he gave publicly, or without conforming thereto. The causes argued on Tuesday were decided on the Tuesday following, unless in cases of impossibility from the nature and length of the difficulties of the case.

## AT MONTREAL.

A Civil and Criminal Court, (under the name of "Jurisdiction Roiale") composed of a Lieutenant General Civil and Criminal, a Lieutenant Particulier, a Procureur du Roi, and a Clerk; it was also held twice a week, exclusive of extraordinary sittings.

## AT THREE RIVERS.

A Civil and Criminal Court, (also under the name of "Jurisdiction Roiale") composed only of a Lieutenant General Civil and Criminal, a Procureur du Roi, and a Clerk, which also sat twice a week, exclusive of extraordinary sittings.

It was the duty of these three Procureurs du Roi, as substitutes of the Procureur General, to plead for widows, orphans, the poor, and minors in their respective Courts.

As they were charged with the Criminal Justice, they impeached and prosecuted Criminals, and obtained Judgment against them. The Procureur General appealed *à minima* to the Superior Council from Judgments ordering corporal punishment or death.

At Quebec, for the whole extent of Canada, a Superior Council, composed of twelve Councillors, one of whom, if of the Clergy, (who did not sit in Criminal cases,) two thirds at least, of the members, Jurists, and the Procureur General. The Intendant as head of the Law, was President. The Governor in Chief, and the Bishop had a right to sit.

To this Council were added *Conseillers Assesseurs*, known to be well versed in the laws, who had a consultative voice; they had a deliberative voice only in the causes in which they were appointed *Réporters*, *Rapporteurs*. In all but summary cases, the causes after the parties were heard, were distributed by the President to Councillors or Assesseurs to report upon them in writing to the Council, within a fixed time. The *Rapporteurs* were bound to make an extract of all the papers filed in the cause, and of the pleadings of the parties which they communicated to the *Procureur General* to draw his conclusions. After the *Procureur General* returned it to them, they wrote underneath their conclusions or opinion, founded on the laws and respectable authorities analogous to the case. The report was publicly read, and their conclusions, and also those of the *Procureur General*, and the Judgment was rendered in conformity to the conclusions, or without conforming thereto. The reports and conclusions remained in the Clerk's office. When the Judgment was rendered according to the conclusions of the Reporter, he signed the Judgment in the minutes, and when they were not adopted, the President signed.

The Chief Councillor presided in the absence of the Intendant, and in his absence, the eldest Councillor. This Council was held at Quebec on the Monday in each week, except in vacation, exclusive of extraordinary meetings.

Five Judges at least sat in Civil cases, and seven in Criminal cases, (without including the *Procureur General*, who always gave his conclusions in both cases.) In this Council were heard only Appeals from Judgments rendered in the three inferior Courts, except cases in which the King was interested, or Communities, or individuals who had the right of *Comitimus* to the Council, being exempted from applying to the inferior Courts in the first instance. The Intendant, who was always a Jurist, as head of the Law and of the Police, could evoke or draw before himself, all causes commenced in the Inferior Courts, as well Civil as Criminal, and he decided (exclusive of all others) in all cases which concerned the King, and which had not been brought before the Superior Council; in cases concerning the Interior Police of the Country, and in all difficulties, as well between Seigneur and Seigneur, as between Seigneurs and Censitaires, and Censitaires and Seigneurs. In his quality as head of the Law, he established and commissioned Subdelegates according to his choice, and he selected as well Inferior Judges as Councillors, to decide in a summary manner, and without any costs or expences whatever, all small causes, from one Livre to one hundred Francs, and to maintain the Police; from whose Judgments the Parties conceiving themselves aggrieved, appealed to himself.

The *Commissaire Ordonnateur* at Montreal was by right his Subdelegate or Deputy, in all differences relating to Fiefs and Seigneuries, and as to the Police, it was the right of the parties who considered themselves aggrieved by his judgments, to appeal from them

to the Intendant, who confirmed or reversed them, as Justice required. In all cases of Fiefs appealed before him, he assembled as Assessors three or four Councillors, and the Procureur General gave his conclusions.

All the Jurisdictions given to the Intendant, did not occasion any costs to the suitors; they stated their case in person, without the intervention of any Lawyers, and the judgments were rendered *gratis*, which his Secretary countersigned.

The Intendant, having no Chamber of Commerce established in Canada, had the power and authority, upon the demand of one of the parties, to judge and decide all Commercial matters, and exercised in Canada the functions of *Juge Consul*. In those cases, he assembled some well informed merchants to assist him as Assessors.

When the Councillors, including himself, formed an equal number, and were divided in opinion, he (or in his absence the President,) had the casting voice, as well in Civil as in Criminal matters.

The parties had the right of Appeal to the King's Council of State, from the Judgments or particular parts of the Judgments of the Council Superior, and also from the Judgments of the Intendant.

Since the first establishment of Canada, there have been but five or six instances of Appeals to the King's Council of State, because the judgments of the Council were well digested and rendered upon mature deliberation, all pronounced and founded upon the laws of the Country, which were cited in the judgments in support of them. Such were also the judgments of the Intendants, which they never rendered in cases of importance but upon the advice of several Councillors, who they called for the purpose, and in which the Procureur General gave his conclusions, supported by Law Authorities, and founded upon the Royal Ordinances, and the Edicts, Declarations and Ordinances made by the King for the Country.

The Municipal Laws of the Country consisted of :

1. The Titles and Articles of the Custom of Paris.
2. The Edicts and Ordinances of the Kingdom of France, made before the Conquest, having been all put in force in Canada by the several Commissions of the Intendants.
3. The Edicts, Declarations and Ordinances of the King, founded upon the representations made to him by the Superior Council, suited to the locality of the Country, several of which have altered, abrogated, or augmented several articles of the Custom of Paris; and several of the principal articles of the Ordinances of the Kingdom.
4. The Arrets or Judgments of the Parliament of Paris in analogous cases.
5. The *Arrets en reglement* of the Superior Council, and the Judgments of the Intendants.

These two last objects constituted an essential part of the Municipal Laws, Customs and Usages put in force by the Act of Quebec. An extract carefully made of the principal Judgments inscribed in

the Registers of the Superior Council, would be of great utility; almost all questions relating to Real Property having been decided.

As to all the forms of proceeding followed in the Civil Courts of Judicature, the Ordinance of Louis XIVth, or the Civil Code of May, 1667, was the Rule, with the exception of the Articles altered or abrogated by the Edict of the King, of 1679, made upon a *Procès Verbal*, drawn up by the Superior Council of Quebec, on the 7th of October, 1678, which is enregistered in the Register A. of "Insinuations" of the said Council, fo. 80. R°.

As to those followed in the Criminal Courts—the Ordinance of the month of August, 1670, was the sole Rule. No digest or redaction of this Ordinance was ever made.

The Edict of the King, of 1679, intituled, "Redaction du Code Civile," suppressed a great number of the forms of Law Proceedings used in France, which rendered them for this Country more simple, more easy, and less complicated.

## No. IV.

## MILITIA OF CANADA, BEFORE THE CONQUEST IN 1760.

ALL the Inhabitants of the Colony, by virtue of the Law of Fiefs (except such Gentlemen and other persons who by their employments had the privileges of Nobles) were Militia men, and enrolled in the several companies of Militia of the Province. The Captains of Militia were the most respectable persons in the Country Parishes, and were entitled to the first seat in the Churches; they also received the same distinctions as the Magistrates in the Towns: they were held in great respect, and Government exacted from the inhabitants obedience to the orders they signified to them on the part of Government. If any of the inhabitants did not obey orders, the Captains were authorized to conduct them to the City, and on complaint, they were punished according to the nature of the delinquency.

When the Government wanted the services of the Militia, as Soldiers, the Colonels of Militia, or the Town Majors, in consequence of a requisition from the Governor General, sent orders to the several Captains of Militia in the Country Parishes, to furnish a certain number of Militia men, chosen by those officers, who ordered the drafts into town, under an escort, commanded by an officer of Militia, who conducted them to the Town Major, who furnished each Militia man with a gun, a capot, or Canadian cloak, a breech clout, a cotton shirt, a cap, a pair of leggings, a pair of Indian shoes and a blanket. After which they were marched to the Garrison to which they were destined. The Militia were generally reviewed once or twice a year, to inspect their arms. The Militia of the City of Quebec were frequently exercised, and the Company of Artillery, every Sunday, were exercised at the great gun practice, under the orders and direction of the Artillery Serjeant Major of the King's troops. To excite the emulation of the Militia men, a premium was given to such as excelled. The Captains in the Country were obliged to execute all orders addressed to them by the Governor General, and also all process from the Intendant, respecting the Police, and also with regard to suits touching Fiefs. They were also obliged to execute all orders respecting the roads, from the Grand Voyer. It was customary for the Governor General to deliver to the several Captains of Militia, every year, by way of gratification, a quantity of powder and ball.



## No. V.

*An Account of the amount of the Value of the Imports and Exports,  
while Canada was a Colony of France.*

Years.

|      |                                                                          |    |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1749 | { Imports...5682090 Livres.<br>Exports...1414900<br>Difference...4267190 |    |
| 1750 | { Imports...5154861<br>Exports...1337000<br>Difference...3817861         |    |
| 1751 | { Imports...4439490<br>Exports...1515932<br>Difference...2923558         |    |
| 1752 | { Exports...6047820<br>Imports...1554400<br>Difference...4493420         |    |
| 1753 | { Imports...5195733<br>Exports...1706130<br>Difference...3489603         |    |
| 1754 | { Imports...5147621<br>Exports...1576616<br>Difference...3571005         |    |
|      | Arrivals—Vessels from France...32                                        |    |
|      | From West Indies.....10                                                  |    |
|      | From Louisbourg<br>& Nova Scotia } 11                                    |    |
| 1755 | { Imports...5203272<br>Exports...1515730<br>Difference...3687542         | 53 |

The Livre is of the value of 10d. Halifax Currency..

## No. VI.

LANDS IN CANADA GRANTED BY THE FRENCH  
GOVERNMENT EXCLUSIVE OF ISLANDS.

Contents of the French Grants - - 7,985,470 acres.  
A great proportion in Mortmain, to the Church  
&c. for the uses of Science and Religion.  
To the Ursuline Convent of Quebec.

|                                   |         |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| Cap Santé - - -                   | 105,755 |
| St. Croix, 1 league by 10 leagues | 59860   |

---

164615

## Ursulines of Three Rivers.

|                       |        |
|-----------------------|--------|
| Riviere du Loup - - - | \$8909 |
|-----------------------|--------|

## Recollect Convent.

|                        |     |
|------------------------|-----|
| Notre Dame des Anges - | 945 |
|------------------------|-----|

## Seminary and Bishoprick of Quebec.

Beaupré, containing the Parishes  
of Ange Gardien, Chateau Ri-  
cher, St. Anne, St. Feréol, St.  
Joachim, Petite Riviere St. Paul,

|                        |         |
|------------------------|---------|
| Isle aux Coudres - - - | 503,824 |
|------------------------|---------|

|                  |        |
|------------------|--------|
| Isle Jésus - - - | 47,888 |
|------------------|--------|

|                        |        |
|------------------------|--------|
| Les Eboulemens in 1684 | 35,906 |
|------------------------|--------|

|         |         |
|---------|---------|
| in 1694 | 125,706 |
|---------|---------|

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693,324

On the Isle Jésus, the parishes of  
St. Francois, St. Rose, St. Mar-  
tin, St. Vincent de Paul.

## The Jesuits.

|                    |         |
|--------------------|---------|
| Charlesbourg - - - | 119,720 |
|--------------------|---------|

|               |        |
|---------------|--------|
| Lorette - - - | 23,944 |
|---------------|--------|

|               |      |
|---------------|------|
| Sillery - - - | 8979 |
|---------------|------|

|                     |     |
|---------------------|-----|
| Isle au Reaux - - - | 360 |
|---------------------|-----|

|                         |         |
|-------------------------|---------|
| Cape de la Magdelaine - | 282,240 |
|-------------------------|---------|

|                |         |
|----------------|---------|
| Batiscan - - - | 282,240 |
|----------------|---------|

|                             |        |
|-----------------------------|--------|
| La Prairie de la Magdelaine | 56,448 |
|-----------------------------|--------|

|                   |         |
|-------------------|---------|
| St. Gabriel - - - | 104,850 |
|-------------------|---------|

|                         |    |
|-------------------------|----|
| Isle St. Christophe - - | 80 |
|-------------------------|----|

|                  |     |
|------------------|-----|
| Pachirigny - - - | 585 |
|------------------|-----|

|                         |    |
|-------------------------|----|
| La Vacherie at Quebec - | 73 |
|-------------------------|----|

|                              |      |
|------------------------------|------|
| St. Nicolas, opposite Quebec | 1180 |
|------------------------------|------|

|                |   |
|----------------|---|
| Tadousac - - - | 6 |
|----------------|---|

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891,845

## St. Sulpicians at Montreal.

|                           |   |   |         |
|---------------------------|---|---|---------|
| Island of Montreal        | - | - | 125,706 |
| Lake of the Two Mountains |   |   | 38,909  |
| St. Sulpice               | - | - | 71,832  |
| Yamaska                   | - | - | 23,914  |

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250,191

## General Hospital at Quebec.

|                                    |   |   |        |
|------------------------------------|---|---|--------|
| La Vacherie                        | - | - | 73     |
| Belle Chasse Berthier 2 L. by 2 L. |   |   | 28,424 |

## St. Francois de Salles

## General Hospital, Montreal

|             |   |   |     |
|-------------|---|---|-----|
| St. Bernard | - | - | 404 |
|-------------|---|---|-----|

## Hotel Dieu, Quebec.

|              |   |   |        |
|--------------|---|---|--------|
| St. Augustin | - | - | 14,112 |
|--------------|---|---|--------|

## Fief St. Ignace, in Charlesbourg parish.

## Sœurs Grises or Sisters of the Congregation at Montreal.

|             |   |   |        |
|-------------|---|---|--------|
| Chateauguay | - | - | 42,336 |
|-------------|---|---|--------|

## St. Nicolas and la Paix Islands.

## RECAPITULATION.

|                             |   |   |   |   |   |         |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------|
| Ursulines                   | - | - | - | - | - | 164,616 |
| Three Rivers Ursulines      | - | - | - | - | - | 30,909  |
| Recollets                   | - | - | - | - | - | 945     |
| Bishop and Seminary, Quebec | - | - | - | - | - | 693,324 |
| Jesuits                     | - | - | - | - | - | 891,845 |
| St. Sulpicians              | - | - | - | - | - | 250,191 |
| General Hospital, Quebec    | - | - | - | - | - | 28,497  |
| Do. Montreal                | - | - | - | - | - | 404     |
| Hotel Dieu, Quebec          | - | - | - | - | - | 14,112  |
| Sœurs Grises                | - | - | - | - | - | 42,336  |

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In Mortmain - - - - - 2,115,178 acres.

To the Church about one fourth.

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All the Grants - - - - - 7,985,470

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To the Laity - - - - - 5,870,292

## No. VII.

## REMARKS ON THE FRENCH GRANTS, FROM 1672 TO THE CONQUEST.

1. Some grant the Right of Fishing, Hunting and Trading with the Indians. Others do not, but except it. Those that do, are most general. Excepted in the Grant of Gentilly to Mr. Duchenu 1676. Granted to Michel Cresse, of Isle de la Fourche, 4th November, 1680.

2. Some grant the High, Low and Middle Justice, or Jurisdiction. Others do not....The former most usual...Some only the *middle* and *low* Justice.

*The Conditions and Reservations are those on the Grant of Seignories.*

There are five Grants according *Vexin Français*, in 1672.

That to the 1st. Company, 15th January, 1636, was *en Fief et Seigneurie & Justice*, and the like Rights which had been granted to the Company of New France, charged with Faith and Homage, at the Castle of St. Lewis, at Quebec, by a single *Hommage Lige à chaque mutation de Possesseur, avec une maille d'or du poids de demie once, et le Revenu d'une année.*

*In the subsequent manner of Granting, we find these Conditions and Reservations : origin, 1672.*

1. Faith and Homage at the Castle of St. Lewis.

2. For Settlement (*Feu et Lieu*) in a year, both by the Seigneur and his Tenants on their respective Concessions.

3. Oak Trees, for Ship Building.

4. The Crown to be informed of all Mines discovered.

5. Ground to be left or furnished for Highways.

6. The Grantee to obtain the Royal Confirmation in a year.

53 Concessions of this Tenor before 1675.

26 Grants in this short interval, *sans Justice*

7. The Censitaires to be compelled to inhabit and cultivate their Farms or Concessions, and build upon them, and have Stocks of Cattle.

The terms vary.

in 3 years.

6 years.

After the War.

Many of this nature from 1751 to 1755

|                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Grants to      |                 |
| Bequet         | 27th April 1683 |
| De Villeraï    | 27th April 1684 |
| Widow La Fond  | 28th Jany. 1684 |
| Mr. Cabanac    | 22d April 1695  |
| Madame La Nau- | 6th April 1697  |
| dise           | 30th Oct. 1700  |

To Soulanges 12th Oct. 1702

Vaudreuil's 29th Oct. 1732  
Estage 31st Decr. 1732

8. Reservation to the King, out of the Grant of such Portion as may be wanted for Fortifications *et ouvrages publiques* and Trees, both for *Buildings* and the *Works*, and for Fuel for the Garrisons, *without pay*.  
This new, and the first instance....others are on the margin.

- 1732 9. Grantees to make under cessions, at the accustomed *Cens et Rentes*, and of one arpent in front, by forty deep.

Vid. Grant at Long Sault, to the Vaudreuil's, 29th Oct. 1732, & Of Berthier, &c. to L'Estage, 31st Dec. 1732.

This general to 1749.

- 1732 10. The Seigneur to leave the Shore free to Fisheries, except what he may want for his own use.

Vid. Grant to Vaudreuil's, 29th Oct. 1732.

- 1749 11. Reservation of Oak, Masts & generally all wood for Ship Building.

There had been an instance in a Grant of Gratinau, to Boucher, the son, at Lac St. Pierre, 3d Nov. 1672.

It is common from 1749 to 1755.

12. Reservation of Red Pines for Tar.

Grant to Pierre Dupré, 30th Dec. 1682, of Rivière de Gouffre To Pierre Lessard or Tremblé, 1683, of Les Eboulements.

Vid. to Demoiselle Ramsay, on Lake Champlain, 25th Oct. 1749.

Mr. Daine, 1st Nov. 1749, Grand Isle.

Mr. De Lanaudiere, Masquinongé, 1st March, 1750.

Mr. Deseneville, 20th April, 1750, &c. &c.

Grants of a posterior period do not always contain conditions found in prior Grants: they add and they omit, for reasons not now known. Perhaps the Governors and Intendants had favo-

rites. The soils and situations might lead to some discriminations and diversities.

### FORM OF A FRENCH GRANT, DATED IN 1697.

LOUIS DE BUADE, Governor, &c.

JEAN BOCHART, Intendant, &c.

(1) Petition.

(2) Description.

(3) Grant.

(4) Name of the Seignior.

(5) Tenendum Fief and Seigneurie.

(6) Jurisdictions.

(7) Hunting, Fishing, Trading.

Charge.

(1) Faith and Homage.

(2) Duties and Dues of Paris.

(3) Preserve the Oaks fit for Ship Building.

(4) Give Intelligence of Mines.

(5) Cormorancy or Settlement.

To all to whom that shall see these Presents, Greeting... Be it known, that upon the Petition of Le Sieur Boissellery Noel, Esqr. Comptroller of the Marine and Fortifications in this Country, for a Grant of Land ten leagues in front by four in depth, situated in the Bay of Chaleur, beginning at the River de Murgonick, and running to that of Menekik, with the Islands, Islets, Batures, Caps de sa devanture, and to give the Concession the name of Boissellery, We by virtue of the power given to Us jointly by His Majesty, have given, granted and conceded, and give, grant, and concede, to the said Sieur de Boissellery, the said land, in manner above described, to which we give the name of Boissellery, to hold the same to him and his Successors and Assigns in propriety for ever, with the title (*à titre*) of Fief and Seigneurie, high, middle, and low Justice, with the right of Hunting, Fishing, and Trading throughout the said Concession, charged to bear Faith, and Homage at the Castle of St. Lewis, at Quebec, of which it shall be held to the duties and dues (*auquel il releva aux Droits et Redevances*) accustomed, according to the Custom of Paris practised in this Country, to preserve, and cause to be preserved by the Tenants (*Tenanciers*) wood of oak, proper for the construction of His Majesty's vessels, to give information to the King or the Governor of the Country of Mines, Minerals and Ores, if any shall be found in the said extent, to settle (*d'y tenir feu et lieu*) and cause it to be settled by the Tenants, to clear

- (6) Clearing Woods on Lines. the division lines (*de dessrter ou faire deserter*) as soon as the present war is ended, upon pain of being ousted of the possession of the said land, and
- (7) Penalty, Expulsion. and finally, to leave Roads and Ways necessary for the public utility: all subject to His Majesty's pleasure, of which he shall be bound to sue out a
- (8) Leave Land for Roads & Ways. a confirmation of these presents, within one year. In Testimony whereof we have signed, and to the same set the Seal of our Arms, and countersigned it by our Secretaries.—Made and done at Quebec, 23d March, 1697.
- (9) Sue out confirmation in a year.
- Teste and Date.

The whole Number of Grants inspected are :

|                                                 |       |       |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| By the Intendant, Jean Talon, from 1674 to 1676 | 5     |       |
|                                                 | 53    |       |
|                                                 | 23    |       |
|                                                 | <hr/> | 81    |
| Count Frontenac, Governor, Duchenu & Bochart    |       |       |
| from 1676 to 1680 - - -                         | 7     |       |
|                                                 | 3     |       |
|                                                 | <hr/> | 10    |
| De la Barre & De Meules, to 1684 - -            | 3     |       |
| De Nonville & Bochart, 1687-1689 - -            | 9     |       |
| Frontenac & Bochart, 1691 to 1698 - -           | 37    |       |
| De Callières & Bochart, 1700 - -                | 1     |       |
| 1702 - -                                        | 5     |       |
| De Callières & Beauharnois - -                  | 3     |       |
| Vaudreuil & Raudot, 1706 - -                    | 3     |       |
| Vaudreuil & Begon, 1713 to 1717 - -             | 5     |       |
| Beauharnois & Hocquart, 1732 to 1744 - -        | 47    |       |
| De la Galissionière & Blgot, 1748 & 1749 - -    | 3     |       |
| De la Jonquière & Bigot 1749 to 1752 - -        | 16    |       |
| De Longueuil & Bigot, 1752 - -                  | 1     |       |
| Du Quesne & Bigot, 1752 & 1754 - -              | 4     |       |
| Vaudreuil & Bigot, 1755 - -                     | 1     |       |
|                                                 | <hr/> | 80    |
|                                                 |       | <hr/> |
|                                                 |       | 229   |

## JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF NIAGARA,

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

6th July, 1759.

About seven at night, a Soldier, who was hunting, came with all diligence to acquaint Monsieur Pouchot, that he had discovered at the entrance of the wood, a party of Savages, and that they had even fired on some other hunters. Monsieur Pouchot immediately sent Mr. Selviert, Captain in the Regiment of Rousillon, at the head of one Piquet, a dozen Canadian Volunteers preceded them, and on their coming to the edge of the woods, a number of Indians fired upon them, which they returned, and were obliged to retire: they took Messrs. Furnace and Aloque, Interpreters of the Iroquois, two Canadians and two other gentlemen. They made another discharge and retired. Monsieur Pouchot fired some canon upon them. Monsieur Selviert lay all night, with one hundred men, in the Demy-lune, and the rest of the Garrison was under arms on the Ramparts 'till midnight.

*Saturday, 7th July.* We perceived seven Barges on the Lake, a league and a half distant from the Fort; we judged by that it was the English come to besiege us: Monsieur Pouchot ordered the General to be beat, and employed all hands to work on the batteries, to erect embrasures, all being en barbet before. He immediately dispatched a Courier to Monsieur Silviert, to give him notice of what had happened; he also sent out Monsieur Laforce, Captain of the Schooner Iroquoise, to destroy the English barges where he could find them. All that day several Savages shewed themselves on the edge of the deserts. Monsieur Leforce fired several cannon shot at them; and perceived they were working at an entrenchment at the Little Swamp, in which a league and a half from the Fort. The guards this night as the night before.

*Sunday, 8th July.* The Schooner continued to cruize and fire on the English Camp. About nine in the morning an English officer brought a letter from Brigadier Prideaux, to Monsieur Pouchot, to summons him, proposing him all advantages and good treatment; all which he very politely refused, and even seemed to be unwilling receive the English General's letter. The remainder of this day the English made no motions.

*Tuesday 10th.* At two o'clock all our men were on the Ramparts, and at day break we perceived they had opened their Trenches, at the entrance of the wilderness, at about three hundred toises from the Fort; we made a very hot fire upon them all day. Mr. Chabourt arrived with the garrison of the Little Fort and seven or eight Savage Iroquoise and Mississagas. Monsieur Pouchot went to palisade the ditches: the service as usual, only the addition of two officers to lie in the covered way. About eleven o'clock at night orders were given to make all the Piquets fire from the covered way



to hinder the workmen of the enemy. Mr. Laforce sent his boat on shore for Monsieur Pouchot's orders.

*Wednesday 11th July.* The works continue on both sides. At noon a party of about fifteen men, Soldiers and Militia, went very nigh the Trenches of the enemy, and perceived them sally out between four and five hundred, who came towards them at a quick pace, but they were stopped by our cannon. They began on the other side of the Swamp, which is to the left of their Trench, another about twenty yards; and at five o'clock they began to play two Grenadoe Royal Mortars. At six o'clock two Savages of the Five Nations, who were invited by one Cayendessie of their nation, came to speak to Mr. Pouchot; the firing ceased on both sides during this parley. At ten o'clock we began to fire again, and then we found the English had eight mortars.

*Night between the 11th and 12th.* The enemy ran their parallel from their first Trench to the Lake side, where it seemed they intended to establish a battery. At two in the afternoon four Chiefs of the Five Nations, came to us on parole, and said they were going to retire to Belle Famille. The enemy wrought the rest of that day, and perfected their night's work. Mr. Laforce had orders to proceed to Frontenac, and to return immediately: in the night between the 12th and 13th, they fired many bombs: I went with thirty men, to observe where the enemy wrought.

*Friday, 13th July.* A canoe arrived from Monsieur De Ville, to hear how we stood at this post (or rather for the Canada Post.)

The enemy threw a great many bombs all this day, and continued to work to perfect their Trenches; we fired a great many cannon shot. Many of their Savages crossed the River, and desired to speak with us. There were but two of those nations with us. I went out with five Volunteers to act as the night before. The enemy fired no bombs 'till about midnight.

*Saturday, 14th July.* At day break we found they had prolonged their Trenches to the Lake side, in spite of the great fire from our cannon and musquetry during the night, and perfected it during the day time; they have placed four mortars, and threw many bombs. All our garrison lay in the covered way and on the Ramparts.

*Sunday, 15th July.* In the morning we perceived they had finished their works began the night before: during the night they threw about thirty shells; the rest of the day and night they threw a great many, but did not incommode us in any shape.

*Monday, 16th July.* At dawn of day we spy'd, about half a league off, two Barges, at which we discharged some cannon, on which they retired: in the course of the day they continued to throw some shells. They have already disabled us about twenty men. All our men lie on skins or in their clothes and armed. We do what we can to incommode them with our cannon.

*Tuesday, 17th July.* Until six this morning we had a thick fog, so that we could not discern the works of the enemy; but it clearing a little up, we saw they had raised a Battery of three pieces of can-

non and four mortars on the other side of the River ; they began to fire about 7 A. M. and Mr. Pouchot placed all the guns he could against them : the fire was brisk on both sides all day, they seemed most inclined to batter the House where the Commandant lodges. The service as usual for the night.

*Wednesday, 18th July* There was a great firing on the preceding day ; we had one soldier killed and four wounded by their shells.

*Thursday, 19th July.* At the dawn of day we found the Enemy had began a Parrallel about eighty yards long, in front of the Fort. The fire was very great on both sides. At two P. M. arrived the Schooner Iroquoise, from Frontenac, and laid a-breast of the Fort, not being able to get in, the Enemy having a battery on the other side of the river. Monsieur Pouchot will have the boat on shore as soon as the wind falls.

*Friday, 20th July.* The English have made a third Parallel, towards the Lake ; they are to-day about one hundred and sixty yards from the Fort : They cannot have worked quietly at the Sap, having had a great fire of musquetry all night long, which they were obliged to bear. During the day they made a great firing with their Mortars, and they perfected their Works began the night of the 19th to the 20th. We had one man killed and four wounded. The fire of the musquetry was very hot on both sides, till eleven at night, when the Enemy left off, and we continued ours all night. Two Canoes were sent on board the Schooner, who are to go to Montreal and Tironto.

*Saturday 21st July.* During the night the Enemy made a fourth Parrallel, which is about a hundred yards from the Fort, in which it appears they will erect a battery for a breach in the flag Bastion : they have hardly fired any cannon or bombs in the day, which gives room to think they are transporting their cannon and Artillery from their old battery to their new one. The service as usual.

Their battery on the other side fired but little in the day. The Schooner went off to see two Canoes over to Tironto, one of which is to post to Montreal, and from thence she is to cruize off Oswego, to try to stop the Enemy's convoys when on their way. The company of Volunteers are always to pass the night in the covered way.

*Saturday 22d.* All the night there was a strong conflict on both sides. We had one man killed by them and by our own cannon. We fired almost all our cannon with cartridges. They worked in the night to perfect all their works began the night before. The Enemy began to fire red hot balls in the night ; they also fired Fire-poles. All day they continued at work to establish their batteries. They fired as usual, bombs and cannon. The service as usual for the night of the 22d and 23d. They worked hard to perfect their batteries, being warmly sustained by their musquetry.

*Monday, 23d.* We added two pieces of cannon to the Bastion of the Lake, to oppose those of the Enemy's side. At 8 A. M. four Savages brought a letter from Monsieur Aubry to Monsieur Pouchot,

by which we learn that he was arrived at the great Island, before the little Fort, at the head of 2500 men, half French and half Savages : Monsieur Pouchot immediately sent back four Savages with the answer to Mr Aubry's letter, informing him of the Enemy's situation. These Savages before they came in, spoke to the five Nations, and gave them five Belts to engage them to retire from the Enemy : They saw part of the Enemy's Camp, and told us the first or second in Command was killed by one of our bullets, and two of their guns broken, and one mortar : We have room to hope, that with such succours, we may oblige the Enemy to raise the siege, with the loss of men ; and as they take up much ground, they must be beat, not being able to rally quick enough.

At P. M. They unmasked another battery of — pieces of Cannon, 3 of which were eighteen pounders, the others 12 and 6. They began with a brisk fire, which continued two hours, then slackened : About five P. M. we saw a barge go over to Belle Famille, on the other side of the river, and some motions made there : One of the four Savages which went off this morning, returned, (his Porcelaine, i. e. Wampum) he had nothing new. The service of the night as usual. We worked hard to place two pieces, twelve pounders, on the middle of the curtains, to bear upon their battery.

*Tuesday 24th. July.* The Enemy began their fire about four o'clock this morning, and continued to fire with the same vivacity the rest of the day. At eight A. M. we perceived our army was approaching, having made several discharges of musquetry at Belle Famille.

At nine the fire began on both sides, and lasted half an hour : We wait to know who has the advantage of those two : At two P. M. we hear, by a Savage, that our army was routed, and almost all made prisoners, by the treachery of our Savages : When immediately the English army had the pleasure to inform us of it by summoning us to surrender.

The above with some Letters, were found in an embrasure, after the English were in possession of the Fort ; since which translated, and the Original given to Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON.

## No. IX.

# LIST OF THE NAVAL AND MILITARY FORCE ON THE EXPEDITION AGAINST QUEBEC, TOGETHER WITH THE GENERAL AND STAFF OFFICERS.

Twenty Ships of the Line, two Fifty's, eight Frigates, nine Sloops, three Ketches, three Fire Ships, two Armed Ships, one Cutter, one Store Ship.

CHARLES SAUNDERS, Commander in Chief, Vice Admiral of the Blue.

PHILIP DURELL, Rear Admiral of the Red.

CHARLES HOLMES, Rear Admiral of the White.

## LAND FORCES.

Major General JAMES WOLFE, Commander in Chief.

Colonels { Honble. Robert Monckton,  
Honble. George Townshend,  
Honble. James Murray.

Lieutenant Colonel Guy Carleton, Quarter Master General.

Major Isaac Barré, Adjutant General.

Cpts. { Hervy Smith, } Aides de Camp to the Commander  
Thomas Bell, } in Chief.

Lieuts. { Richard Guillem, } Majors of Brigade,  
John Spittal, }  
Hon. Richard Maitland, }  
Henry Dobson. }

Cpts. { Caldwell, } Assistants to the Quarter Master Genl.  
Leslie. }

Major Patrick Mackellar, Chief Engineer.

First Brigade, - - General Monckton,

*Regiments, Commanding Officers.*

15th, - - Major Irving,

43d, - - Lieut. Col. James,

48th, - - Lieut. Col. Burton,

78th, - - Lieut. Col. Fraser,

Second Brigade, - - General Townshend,

28th, - - Lieut. Col. Walsh,

47th, - - Lieut. Col. Hale,

60th, 2d Bat. - Major Prevost.

Third Brigade, - - General Murray,

35th, - - Lieut. Col. Fletcher,

58th, - - Major Agnew,

60th, Lawrence's, 3d Bat. Lieut. Col. Young,

The Grenadiers of the above ten Regiments, Lieut. Col. Carleton.

|                                    |   |                           |
|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| A Corps of Light Infantry from the | } | Lt. Col. Hon. Wm. Howe,   |
| Regiments of the Line, -           |   | 58th Regt. and Major John |
| A Corps of Rangers -               |   | Dalling.                  |
|                                    |   | Major George Scott.       |

No. X.

## A JOURNAL

*Of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence ; containing a true and particular Account of the transactions of the Fleet and Army, from the time of their embarkation at Louisbourg, till after the surrender of QUEBEC.*

On the 1st. of June, 1759, we embarked on board the transports at Louisbourg, bound on the expedition to Canada.

The fourth day we set sail for the river St. Lawrence, which we made on the ninth, and were till the sixteenth before we got into it. For about forty leagues up the river, the depth of water is one hundred fathoms. The nineteenth day we came into seventeen fathom water; and on the twenty-third we joined Admiral Durell, who with seven sail of the line, and some frigates lay as guard to protect the river at the Isle of Coudre. This Island is pleasantly situated, lies partly high, and was very well peopled before we came up. And passing this Island about a league up, we anchored, and two of our small boats went in shore, and was attacked by a small party of Canadians and Indians, and were obliged to retreat to their ships.

The 25th, we made the outer end of the Isle of Orleans, and on the twenty-seventh landed on it without the loss of a man. A small party of the rangers were almost surrounded by a large party of Indians; but the rangers rushed through them with the loss of only one man, what damage the enemy sustained, is uncertain.

The 29th, the French sent down five fire ships amongst our fleet; but did no damage. The same day we marched six miles under the command of Colonel Carleton, and encamped that same night in sight of the French army, and likewise in sight of the town. General Monckton's brigade and a party of rangers landed on the south side; we had a small attack, by which we had three killed, two wounded, and four taken prisoners.

July 1st, the enemy came against our detachment on the south side of the river with floating batteries; but our shipping soon drove them off. The same day the Louisbourg grenadiers went a foraging; we had two killed and scalped belonging to the 22d regiment.

The 5th, a barge was sent between the Island and the main land, to sound the depth of water; the French fired four cannon shot at her, and came down on a large bar of sand, from whence they fired small arms; also five canoes came down the river, full of Indians, who took the barge, made one man prisoner and wounded another. On the same day their floating batteries attacked our shipping; but

were soon obliged to quit their firing. General Monckton opened a small battery upon the south side: the first day they cannonaded and bombarded on both sides, but lost not a man.

The 8th, we landed on Quebec shore, without any interception, and marched up the river about two miles, when the Louisbourg grenadiers were ordered out to get fascines, they had scarce set down to take a small refreshment, and detached a small party of rangers to guard the skirts of the wood, before a large party of Indians surrounded them, killed and scalped thirteen, wounded the captain-lieutenant and nine privates; they likewise killed and wounded fourteen royal Americans, wounded two of the 22d and one of the 40th regiment, we got only three prisoners, and killed two of the savages.

The third day our shipping was drove off by the enemy's shells. We got only some few prisoners till the twelfth day, when the French built a battery against us, but had not time to mount any guns on it, for we soon demolished it with our field pieces and howitzers. The 14th day their floating batteries came off after our boats, but we soon drove them back again. The seventeenth we set the town on fire, about twelve o'clock, which continued burning all that day.

On the 17th, we went out a fascinating, and to make oars, with a small party to cover us, five were killed, of which four were scalped, and we were obliged to quit the wood directly; the Indians came up very near, and killed and scalped one man close by us; the grenadiers of the 45th regiment, fired upon them, and killed one, but the Indians carried him off; we had five killed and three wounded; but our people returning upon them, made them fly so fast that they were obliged to leave their watch-coats, with several other things behind them; but could not get one of them prisoners. A deserter came to us, from whom we got some account of their forces, which, however imperfect, gave us some encouragement.

The 18th, the deserter went out with the light infantry, showed them a place to cross the falls; the Indians fired on them, but hurt none: likewise the same night some of the shipping passed the town, and one ran ashore on the south side of the river. The 19th day the floating batteries came out to attack our shipping round the harbour; but our batteries on the land side drove them off, so that the shipping received but two shot.

The 21st, all the grenadiers crossed over to the Island of Orleans; the Indians attacked us very smartly as we were marching to the water side. The same day the enemy opened two batteries on us, which raked our camps. Our troops with seamen, stormed a battery on the south side, spiked the cannon, broke the mortars, broke into their magazine, took all their powder, and threw their shot and shells into the water.

The 22d, set the town on fire, which burnt all the next day: some of the shipping attempted to pass the town, but the enemy fired so hot at them, they were obliged to turn back.

The 23d, three hundred provincials landed on the Island of Orleans, which was some reinforcement.

The 25th, the Louisbourg battalion and three more companies of grenadiers, with three companies of light infantry, went round the Island of Orleans. The 27th, they arrived again at the camp; and received the news, that our forces on Montmorenci side had been attacked the day before, and had got the better of the enemy, in which it was said they had three hundred killed. Our loss was five officers and thirty-two privates, twelve of whom were killed, the rest wounded. The same day went to get the plunder which was discovered on the march round the Island, consisting chiefly of wearing apparel, and some cash. The same night the French sent down five fire floats, which were towed ashore by the men of war's boats, where they were burnt without doing our shipping any damage.

The 29th, Otway's, Hopson's, Whitmore's and Warburton's grenadiers went on board two transport-ships, the rest in flat-bottomed boats, with a full intent to land on a part of the French shore; so as by that means we might come at the town: the first push we made was on the thirty-first of July, with thirteen companies of grenadiers, supported by about five thousand battalion men; as soon as we landed we fixed our bayonets, and beat the grenadiers march, and so advanced on; during all this time their cannon played very briskly on us; but their small arms, in their trenches, lay cool till they were sure of their mark; then they poured their small shot like showers of hail, which caused our brave grenadiers to fall very fast; the General saw that our attempts were in vain, retreated to his boats again: the number of the killed and wounded that day was about four hundred men; in our retreat we burnt the two ships, which we had ran ashore on that side to cover our landing.

The 3d of August, a party of capt. Danks's rangers went from the Island of Orleans to Quebec side, a little down the river; they were attacked by a party of French, and were smartly engaged for the space of half an hour; but the rangers put them to flight, killed several, and took one prisoner; the rangers lost one lieutenant, who died of his wounds, and two or three privates. They got a great deal of plunder.

The 4th, the French made an attempt to cross the falls, but our howits and colorns obliged them to retreat without accomplishing any thing.

The 8th, two centinels being at the falls, they took an Indian and brought him prisoner to the General, who sent him on board the Admiral. At 12 o'clock at night we threw a carcass and one shell on the enemy's battery of nine guns, which blew up their magazine, platforms, and burnt with such violence, that some of the garrison were obliged to get into boats to save themselves from the flames. The 9th day we set the town on fire, being the third time.

On the 10th the French sent down a sort of floating battery; one

of the ship's boats being sent out to see what it was, and just as the seamen were going to get on it, it blew up, and killed one midshipman, and wounded four sailors. The same day about thirty sailors went a plundering on the south side of the river, but were surprized by a party of Indians and drove off, with the loss of their plunder.

The 11th, there was an engagement between our scouting parties and the Indians; our people drove them off; we had several killed and wounded.

The 12th we had an account of General Murray's going to land above the town; he made an attempt to land twice, and was beat off; he made the third attempt, and landed on the south shore, with the loss of about one hundred killed and wounded. The same day we had an account from the enemy, that General Amherst's army was in such a bad condition, that they were obliged to return back again.

On the 13th we had an account by a deserter from the enemy, that they were in great want of provisions, and that a body of French and Indians were come over the falls, the same side our army was on, had with them four days provisions, and were there still.

The 15th, Captain Gorham returned from an incursion, in which service were employed, under his command, one hundred and fifty rangers, a detachment from the different regiments, highlanders, marines, &c. amounting in all to about three hundred; an armed vessel, three transports, with a lieutenant and seamen of the navy to attend him; of which expedition they gave the following account: "That on the 4th of August they proceeded down to St. Paul's Bay, where was a parish containing about two hundred men, who had been very active in distressing our boats and shipping. At three o'clock in the morning, Captain Gorham landed, and forced two of their guards, of twenty men each, who fired smartly for some time; but that in two hours he drove them all from their covering in the wood, and cleared the village, which he afterwards burnt; it consisted of about fifty fine houses and barns; destroyed most of their cattle, &c. That in this they had one man killed and six wounded; but that the enemy had two killed and several wounded, who were carried off. That from thence they proceeded to Mal Bay, ten leagues to the eastward, on the same side, where they destroyed another very pretty parish, drove off the inhabitants and stock without any loss; after which they made a descent on the south shore, opposite the Isle of Coudre, destroyed part of the parishes of St. Anne and St. Roc, where were many handsome houses with good farms, and loaded the vessels with cattle, and then returned from their expedition."

The same day, a party of highlanders came to the Isle of Orleans from General Monckton's encampment, in order to destroy all the Canada side. The same day our people set one of the enemy's floating batteries on fire; and in the night General Monckton set the town on fire, (being the fourth time) and the flames raged so violently, that 'twas imagined the whole city would have been reduced to ashes.



The 18th the enemy hove a shell from the town, which killed one of our men, and wounded six more.

On the 20th the Louisbourg grenadiers began their march down the main land of Quebec, in order to burn and destroy all the houses on that side. On the 24th they were attacked by a party of French, who had a priest for their commander; but our party killed and scalped thirty-one of them, and likewise the priest their commander; they did our people no damage. The three companies of Louisbourg grenadiers halted about four miles down the river, at a church called the Guardian Angel, where they were ordered to fortify themselves till further orders: our people had several small parties in houses, and the remainder continued in the church. The 25th they began to destroy the country, burning houses, cutting down their corn, &c. At night the Indians fired several scattering shot at the houses, which killed one highlander and wounded another; but they were soon repulsed by the heat of our firing: it was said, that the number of the enemy consisted of eight hundred Canadians and Indians. September 1st, they set fire to the enemy's houses and fortifications, and then marched to join the grand army at Montmorenci.

The 26th of August, a Serjeant of the 35th regiment deserted across the falls, and though our people fired several shot at him, he got clear off to the enemy.

The 27th, some of our shipping went past the town, notwithstanding the enemy kept a constant firing of shot and shells at them, tho' without doing them much damage. The 29th, five sail more passed the town, up the river, amidst the constant firing of the enemy: and on the 30th, four more of our vessels passed the town, without receiving any considerable damage from the enemy's batteries ashore, although they kept up a very brisk fire upon them as they passed up.

September 1st, all the sick and wounded that were on Montmorenci side, came over to the Isle of Orleans: on the 2d instant a large body of Wolfe's troops came over, with the Louisbourg grenadiers, and encamped that night on the same island.

The 3d day all the army left Montmorenci side, they set all the houses and fortifications on fire, and then embarked in flat bottomed boats and came up above the fall; the French fired very brisk all the time of their passing, but did them no damage, they went over to Point Levi and encamped there.

The 4th, the Louisbourg grenadiers, and the remainder of the army crossed over to Point Levi from the Isle of Orleans, and encamped there. The same day four men came from General Amherst's army; they were twenty-six days on their journey, and informed us, that we were in possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

The 5th, about five or six hundred men marched up the river on Point Levi side, to go above the town, and carried one month's provisions up in sloops. The same day one of the Royal Americans, who was taken prisoner by the French Indians on the Thirty-first of

July, made his escape, and came to the Porcupine Sloop of War, which lay a little below the fall; he informed us, that there were about three hundred Indians with the enemy that carried arms; but that there were a great number of women and children, and that they were very scant of provisions; likewise that he himself had been forty-eight hours without any thing to eat: he further said, that the enemy were very numerous in their entrenchments, consisting of at least fourteen thousand men, of whom, eleven thousand were Canadians, and the rest regulars, the latter of whom were heartily tired of the siege.

The 6th, the Schooner Terror of France, went above the town, in the middle of the day, and passed, the enemy kept up a constant fire at her, and she received several shot in her sails, but lost none of her hands.

The whole of the army being on Point Levi side, the main body were ordered to get ready to march above the town, on the south side, and to take with them only one shirt, and one pair of stockings, besides what they had on: they marched up the river about eight miles, and then embarked on board the men of war and transports that were up the river; the number that embarked were three thousand three hundred and forty-nine men, with a party of the train of artillery.

The 10th, the weather being very wet, and the troops very much crowded on board the men of war and transports, the General thought proper to land them on the south side again; which was a great decoy to the French; we then marched to the church of St. Nicholas, under the command of General Monckton, where we halted. The next day we received intelligence of a small number of French and Indians, who were driving some cattle; we dispatched a party of five hundred men, who took the cattle, but the enemy got off.

The 12th, we received orders to embark on board the transports again, and to hold ourselves in readiness to land next morning at day light, under the heights of Abraham; accordingly we landed at break of day, (13th) and immediately attacked and routed a considerable body of the enemy and took possession of their battery of four twenty-four pounders, and one 13-inch mortar, with but a very inconsiderable loss on our side. We then took post on the plains of Abraham, where Mr. Montcalm, (on hearing that we were landed for he did not at all expect us,) hastened with his whole army, consisting of cavalry as well as infantry, to give us battle; about nine o'clock, we observed the enemy marching down towards us in three columns, at ten, they formed their line of battle, which was at least six deep, having their flanks covered by a thick wood on each side, into which he threw above a thousand Canadians and Indians, who galled us much; we got two six pounders to fire against the enemy very soon, six more, besides two royal howitzers, came up whilst the enemy were making haste to attack before our artillery should be got up, as they dreaded our quick firing; accordingly their regulars then marched briskly up to us, and gave us their first fire at about fifty yards dis-

tance, which we did not return, as it was General Wolfe's express orders not to fire till they came within twenty yards of us: they continued firing by platoons, advancing in a very regular manner, till they came close up to us, and then the action became general: our artillery fired so briskly, seconded by the small arms from the regiments, who behaved with the greatest intrepidity, order, and regularity, with a cheerfulness which foretold victory on our side, and in about fifteen minutes they gave way, so that we fairly beat them in open field, drove them before us, part into Quebec, the rest ran precipitately across St. Charles's river, over a bridge of boats, and some through the water. The enemy lost in the engagement, Lieutenant General Montcalm, who had three wounds from our six-pounder grape, of which he died next day; one Colonel, two Lieutenant-Colonels, and at least fifteen hundred officers and men killed and wounded, and two hundred taken prisoners at their very sally-ports, of which many were officers. We lost the brave General Wolfe, who received three wounds, but had the satisfaction before his death, to see his own plan so well executed, as to beat the enemy totally: he then said, "I thank God, now I shall die contented:" These were his last words. Brigadier General Monckton; Colonel Carleton, Quarter-Master General; Major Barry, Adjutant General, and several other officers were wounded.

At four in the afternoon, Mr. Bougainville, appeared in our rear, with about fifteen hundred foot and two hundred horse, upon which Brigadier General Burton, with the 35th and 48th regiments marched to the left to receive him, but he no sooner perceived our dispositions made to engage him, than he faced to the right about, and made a most precipitate retreat.

At ten o'clock at night we surprized their guard and took possession of their grand hospital, wherein we found between twelve and fifteen hundred sick and wounded.

We remained that night on the field of battle, and on the 14th in the morning we secured the bridge of boats they had over Charles river, and possessed ourselves of all the posts and avenues that were or might have been of any consequence leading to the town, and began to prepare for attacking the garrison in form, and got up for that purpose, twelve heavy twenty-four pounders; six heavy twelve pounders, some large mortars, and the four inch howitzers, to play upon the town, and had been employed three days, intending to make a breach, and storm the city sword in hand, but were prevented by their beating a parley, and sent out a flag of truce with articles of capitulation, and the next day, being the eighteenth of September, the articles were signed and we took possession of the city, where we found one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, from two to thirty-six pounders; a number of mortars, from nine to fifteen inches, field pieces, howitzers, royals, &c. with a large quantity of artillery stores, &c. &c.

The day after the engagement the enemy abandoned Beauport, leaving behind them about fifty pieces of cannon and four mortars,

having first set fire to all their floating batteries, and blown up their magazine of powder.

Mr. Vaudreuil, the governor-general of New France, stole out of the city before the capitulation ; leaving only about six hundred men, under the command of Monsieur Ramsay, by whom the capitulation was signed. The poor remains of the French regulars, with about ten thousand Canadians, retired to Jacques Quartier, under the command Mr. Levy, but the Canadians deserted from him in great numbers, and came in and surrendered themselves.

Sept. 19th, the French garrison were embarked on board transports ; such of the inhabitants as would come in and take the oath of allegiance were permitted to enjoy their estates.

Brigadier General Murray is governor of the town, and the whole army left to garrison it.

During the whole siege from first to last, five hundred and thirty-five houses were burned down, amongst which is the whole eastern part of the lower town (save six or eight houses) which make a very dismal appearance.

The enemy were above double our number by their own confession, besides their Indians, and were entrenched, had breast-works, fleches, redoubts, shore and floating batteries, &c. The enemy kept a diligent look-out, up St Lawrence river, from thence to hinder any communication with General Amherst, and had intercepted two officers and four Indians coming from him to us. We burned and destroyed upwards of fourteen hundred fine farm houses ; for we during the siege were masters of a great part of their country along shore, and parties were almost continually kept out ravaging the country ; so that it is thought it will take them half a century to recover the damage.

**GENERAL TOWNSHEND'S LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE, GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF THE THIRTEENTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1759.**

*Camp before Quebec, Sept. 20th, 1759.*

I have the honour to acquaint you with the success of his Majesty's arms on the 13th instant, in an action with the French, on the heights to the westward of this Town; it being determined to carry the operations above the Town, the Posts at Pointe Levi and l'Isle d'Orleans being secured, the General marched with the remainder of the Forces from Point Levi the 5th and 6th, and embarked them in transports, which had passed the town for that purpose. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, a movement of the ships was made by Admiral Holmes, in order to amuse the enemy, now posted along the north shore; but the transports being exceedingly crowded, and the weather very bad, the General thought proper to canton half his troops on the south shore, where they were refreshed, and reembarked upon the 12th, at one in the morning. The light Infantry commanded by Colonel Howe, the regiments of Bragg, Kennedy, Lascelles, and Anstruther, with a detachment of Highlanders and the American grenadiers, the whole being under the command of Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were put into flat bottomed boats: and, after some movement of the ships made by Admiral Holmes, to draw the attention of the enemy above, the boats fell down with the tide, and landed on the north shore within a league of Cape Diamond, an hour before day break: the rapidity of the tide of ebb carried them a little below the intended place of attack, which obliged the light Infantry to scramble up a woody precipice, in order to secure the landing of the troops, by dislodging a Captain's Post, which defended the small entrenched path the troops were to ascend. After a little firing, the light Infantry gained the top of the precipice, and dispersed the Captain's Post; by which means the troops, with very little loss from a few Canadians and Indians in the wood, got up, and were immediately formed. The boats as they emptied were sent back for the second embarkation, which I immediately made. Brigadier Murray who had been detached with Anstruther's battalion to attack the four gun battery upon the left, was recalled by the General, who now saw the French crossing the river St. Charles. General Wolfe thereupon, began to form his line, having his right covered by the Louisbourg grenadiers, on the right of these again he afterwards brought Otway's; to the left of the grenadiers, were Bragg's, Kennedy's, Lascelles, Highlanders, and Anstruther's; the right of this body was commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and the left by Brigadier Murray: his rear and left were protected by Colonel Howe's light Infantry, who was returned from the four gun battery beforementioned, which was soon abandoned to him.

General Montcalm having collected the whole of his force from the Beauport side, and advancing, shewed his intention to flank our left, where I was immediately ordered with General Amherst's Battalion, which I formed *en potence*. My numbers were soon after increased by the arrival of the two battalions of Royal Americans; and Webb's was drawn up by the General, as a reserve; in eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The enemy lined the bushes in their front with fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, and I dare say, had placed most of their best marksmen there, who kept up a very galling tho' irregular fire upon our whole line, who bore it with the greatest patience and good order, reserving their fire for the main body now advancing. This fire of the enemy was, however, checked by our posts in our front, which protected the forming our own line. The right of the enemy was composed of half of the Troops of the Colony, the Battalions of La Sarre, Languedoc, and the remainder of their Canadians and Indians. Their centre was a column, and formed by the battalions of Beara and Guienne. Their left was composed of the remainder of the Troops of the Colony, and the battalion of Royal Roussillon. This was, as near as I can guess, their line of battle. They brought up two pieces of small artillery against us, and we had been able to bring up but one gun, which being admirably well served, galled their column exceedingly. My attention to the left, will not permit me to be very exact with regard to every circumstance which passed in the centre, much less to the right, but it is most certain, that the enemy formed in good order, and that their attack was very brisk and animated on that side. Our troops reserved their fire, till within forty yards, which was so well continued, that the enemy every where gave way. It was then our General fell, at the head of Bragg's and the Louisbourg Grenadiers, advancing with their bayonets. About the same time, Brigadier General Monckton received his wound at the head of Lascelles. In the front of the opposite battalions, fell also Mr. Montcalm, and his second in command, who is since dead of his wounds on board one of the fleet. Part of the enemy made a second faint attack, part took to some thick coppice wood, and seemed to make a stand. It was at this moment, that each corps seemed in a manner to exert itself, with a view to its own peculiar character. The Grenadiers, Braggs, Kennedy's and Lascelles, pressed on with bayonets. Brigadier Murray advancing briskly with the troops under his command, completed the route on this side, when the Highlanders, supported by Anstruther's, took to their broad swords, and drove them into the town, and part to the works at their Bridge on the River St. Charles. The action on our left and rear was not so severe. The houses into which the Light Infantry was thrown, were well defended, being supported by Colonel Howe, who taking post with two companies, behind a small coppice, and frequently sallying upon the flanks of the enemy, during their attack, drove them often into heaps; against the front of which body, I advanced platoons of Amherst's Regiment, which totally prevented the right wing from executing their first in-

attention. Before this, one of the Royal American Battalions had been detached to preserve our communication with our boats; and the other being sent to occupy the ground which Brigadier Murray's movement had left open. I remained with Amherst's to support this disposition, and to keep back the enemy's right, and a body of their Savages, which waited still more towards our rear, opposite to the posts of our Light Infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon our rear. This was the situation of things, when I was told in the action, that I commanded. I immediately repaired to the centre, and finding the pursuit had put part of the troops in disorder, I formed them as soon as possible. Scarce was this effected, when Mr. Bougainville, with his corps from Cape Rouge, of two thousand men, appeared in our rear. I advanced two pieces of artillery and two battalions towards him, upon which he retired. You will not, I flatter myself, blame me for not quitting such advantageous ground, and risking the fate of so decisive a day, by seeking a fresh enemy, posted perhaps, in the very kind of ground he could wish for, viz. woods and swamps. We took a great number of French officers upon the field of battle, and one piece of cannon; their loss is computed to be about fifteen hundred, which fell chiefly on their regulars. I have been employed from the day of action to that of the capitulation, in redoubting our Camp beyond insult: in making a road up the precipice for our cannon; in getting up the artillery, preparing the Batteries, and cutting off their communication with their country. The 17th, at noon, before we had any Batteries erected, or could have any for two or three days, a flag of truce came out with proposals of Capitulation, which I sent back again to the Town, allowing them four hours to capitulate, or no further Treaty. The Admiral had, at this time, brought up his large ships as intending to attack the Town. The French officer returned at night with the terms of Capitulation; which, with the Admiral were considered, agreed to, and signed, at eight in the morning, the 18th instant. The terms we granted, will, I flatter myself, be approved of by His Majesty, considering the enemy assembling in our rear, and, what is far more formidable, the very wet and cold season, which threatened our troops with sickness, and the fleet with some accident. It had made our road so bad, that we could not bring up a gun for some time; add to this, the advantage of entering the Town with the walls in a defensible state, and being able to put a garrison there strong enough to prevent all surprize. These, I hope, will be deemed sufficient considerations for granting them the terms I have the honor to transmit to you. The inhabitants of the Country come into us fast, bringing their arms, and taking the oaths of fidelity, until a General Peace determine their situation. By deserters we learn, that the enemy are re-assembling what troops they can behind Cape Rouge; that Monsieur de Levi is come down from the Montreal side to command them; some say he has brought two battalions with him; if so, this blow has already assisted Gene-

ral Amherst. By other deserters we learn, that Mr. de Bougainville with eight hundred men and provisions, was on his march to fling himself into the town, the 18th, the very morning it capitulated. On which day we had not completed the investiture of the place, as they had broken down their bridge of boats and had detachments in very strong works on the other side of the river St. Charles. I should not do justice to the Admirals and the naval service, if I neglected the occasion of acknowledging how much we are indebted for our success, to the constant assistance and support received from them, *and the perfect harmony and correspondence which has prevailed throughout all our operations*, in the uncommon difficulties which the nature of this country, in particular, presents to military operations of a great extent, and which no army can itself solely supply. The immense labour in artillery, stores and provisions; the long watchings and attendance in boats; the drawing up our Artillery by the seamen, even in the heat of action; it is my duty, short as my command has been, to acknowledge for that time, how great a share the Navy has had in this successful Campaign.

## No. XII.

LIST OF THE KILLED, WOUNDED AND MISSING  
OF GENERAL WOLFE'S ARMY, FROM 27th JUNE,  
TO 13th SEPTEMBER, 1759.

|                           | K.  | W.  | M. | Total of every Rank.                            |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|----|-------------------------------------------------|
| Commissioned Officers.... | 10  | 47  | —  | Regulars.<br>Marines.<br>Artillery and Rangers. |
| Serjeants.....            | 9   | 26  | —  |                                                 |
| Drummers.....             | 0   | 7   | —  |                                                 |
| Rank and File.....        | 163 | 575 | 17 |                                                 |
| Total.....                | 182 | 655 | 17 | 854                                             |



## OFFICERS PRESENT; RANK AND FILE, &amp;c. AT THE BATTLE OF 13th SEPT. 1759.

| COMMISSIONED.       |               | STAFF.    |               |         |           |              |          |            |                       |           |        | N. Commissioned |           | Total of all<br>Ranks, includ-<br>ing General<br>Officers. |      |
|---------------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|---------|-----------|--------------|----------|------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------|-----------------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Number of<br>Corps. | Regiments.    | Colonels. | Lt. Colonels. | Majors. | Captains. | Lieutenants. | Ensigns. | Adjutants. | Quarter Mas-<br>ters. | Surgeons. | Mates. | Serjeants.      | Drummers. | Rank & File.                                               |      |
| 15th                | Amherst's     | 1         | 0             | 1       | 4         | 15           | 5        | 0          | 0                     | 1         | 0      | 21              | 6         | 352                                                        | 406  |
| 28th                | Bragg's       | 1         | 0             | 1       | 5         | 9            | 8        | 0          | 0                     | 1         | 0      | 23              | 11        | 362                                                        | 421  |
| 35th                | Orway's       | 0         | 1             | 1       | 5         | 11           | 8        | 1          | 1                     | 1         | 0      | 23              | 11        | 456                                                        | 519  |
| 43d                 | Kennedy's     | 0         | 0             | 1       | 6         | 6            | 4        | 1          | 1                     | 0         | 0      | 17              | 11        | 280                                                        | 327  |
| 47th                | Lascelles'    | 0         | 1             | 0       | 5         | 8            | 8        | 0          | 0                     | 0         | 0      | 31              | 2         | 305                                                        | 360  |
| 48th                | Webb's        | 0         | 1             | 0       | 4         | 16           | 7        | 1          | 0                     | 1         | 1      | 33              | 14        | 605                                                        | 683  |
| 58th                | Anstruther's  | 0         | 1             | 1       | 4         | 7            | 6        | 0          | 0                     | 0         | 0      | 20              | 0         | 296                                                        | 335  |
| 60th                | Monckton's    | 1         | 0             | 0       | 2         | 6            | 6        | 0          | 0                     | 0         | 0      | 26              | 15        | 266                                                        | 322  |
|                     | Lawrence's    | 0         | 1             | 0       | 4         | 11           | 8        | 0          | 0                     | 0         | 0      | 28              | 14        | 474                                                        | 540  |
| 78th                | Fraser's      | 0         | 0             | 0       | 7         | 12           | 7        | 1          | 0                     | 0         | 0      | 28              | 14        | 603                                                        | 662  |
| 22d                 | Louisbourg    |           |               |         |           |              |          |            |                       |           |        |                 |           |                                                            |      |
| 40th                | Companies     | 0         | 1             | 0       | 2         | 8            | 0        | 1          | 0                     | 0         | 0      | 9               | 4         | 216                                                        | 241  |
| 45th                | of Grenadiers |           |               |         |           |              |          |            |                       |           |        |                 |           |                                                            |      |
| Total               |               | 3         | 6             | 5       | 48        | 109          | 67       | 5          | 2                     | 4         | 1      | 259             | 102       | 4215                                                       | 4816 |
|                     |               |           |               |         |           |              |          |            |                       |           |        |                 |           |                                                            | 4828 |

One Major General; Three Brigadiers, one Quarter Master General, one Aid Quarter Master General, one Adjutant General, four Majors of Brigade, two Aids de Camp.

## No. XIV.

LIST OF THE KILLED, WOUNDED AND MISSING, ON THE 13th SEPTEMBER, 1759.

| Regiments.  | KILLED.   |              |          |            |                | WOUNDED.  |              |          |            |           | Rk. & Ft. Missg. | Artillery      |              |         | STAFF.     |   |   |   |  |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|----------|------------|----------------|-----------|--------------|----------|------------|-----------|------------------|----------------|--------------|---------|------------|---|---|---|--|
|             | Captains. | Lieutenants. | Ensigns. | Sergeants. | Rank and File. | Captains. | Lieutenants. | Ensigns. | Sergeants. | Drummers. |                  | Rank and File. | Bombardiers. | Guncrs. | Mattresses |   |   |   |  |
| 15th.....   | 0         | 0            | 0        | 0          | 2              | 0         | 4            | 0        | 5          | 0         | 52               | 0              |              |         |            |   |   |   |  |
| 28th.....   | 0         | 1            | 0        | 1          | 3              | 3         | 1            | 1        | 4          | 1         | 39               | 0              |              |         |            |   |   |   |  |
| 35th.....   | 0         | 1            | 0        | 0          | 6              | 2         | 4            | 0        | 1          | 0         | 28               | 0              |              |         |            |   |   |   |  |
| 43d.....    | 0         | 0            | 0        | 0          | 3              | 1         | 0            | 2        | 2          | 0         | 18               | 2              |              |         |            |   |   |   |  |
| 47th.....   | 0         | 1            | 0        | 0          | 1              | 2         | 4            | 2        | 1          | 2         | 26               | 0              |              |         |            |   |   |   |  |
| 48th.....   | 0         | 0            | 0        | 0          | 0              | 0         | 0            | 0        | 0          | 0         | 3                | 0              |              |         |            |   |   |   |  |
| 58th.....   | 0         | 0            | 1        | 1          | 8              | 2         | 1            | 1        | 3          | 0         | 80               | 0              |              |         |            |   |   |   |  |
| 60th { 2d B | 0         | 0            | 0        | 0          | 5              | 1         | 3            | 2        | 2          | 1         | 80               | 1              |              |         |            |   |   |   |  |
| { 3d B      | 0         | 0            | 0        | 0          | 2              | 0         | 0            | 0        | 0          | 0         | 2                |                |              |         |            |   |   |   |  |
| 78th.....   | 1         | 2            | 0        | 1          | 14             | 2         | 5            | 3        | 7          | 0         | 131              | 2              |              |         |            |   |   |   |  |
| Lou. Gren.  | 0         | 1            | 0        | 0          | 3              | 1         | 4            | 0        | 0          | 0         | 47               | 0              |              |         |            |   |   |   |  |
| Total.....  | 1         | 6            | 1        | 3          | 47             | 14        | 26           | 11       | 25         | 4         | 506              | 5              | 1            | 2       | 5          | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |

All Ranks, Killed, Wounded and Missing—Six Hundred and Sixty-Four.

## No. XV.

*Strength of the French Army at the Battle of Quebec, 13th Sept. 1759.*

## RIGHT COLUMN.

|                         |             |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| Colony Troops           | 550         |
| Regt. of La Sarre       | 500         |
| Languedoc               | 550         |
| Militia & 1 six pounder | 400         |
|                         | <hr/> 2000. |

## CENTRE.

|                   |            |
|-------------------|------------|
| Regiment of Bearn | 360        |
| Guienne           | 360        |
| Militia           | 1200       |
|                   | <hr/> 1920 |

## LEFT COLUMN.

|                           |            |
|---------------------------|------------|
| Regiment Royal Roussillon | 650        |
| Colony Troops             | 650        |
| Militia                   | 2300       |
|                           | <hr/> 3600 |
|                           | 1920       |
|                           | <hr/> 2000 |

Grand Total 7520



Suis unicè prospiciens, immemor suū,  
 Hostis acer, Victor Mansuetus.  
 Fortunam virtute, virium inopiam, peritiā  
 Et celeritate, compensavit.  
 Imminens Coloniae Fatum et consilio et manu per  
 quadriennium sustinuit.  
 Tandem ingentem exercitum Duce strenuo et  
 audaci,  
 Classemque omni bellorum mole gravem,  
 Multiplici prudentiā, diū ludificatus,  
 Vi pertractus ad dimicandum,  
 In primā acie, in primo conflictu, vulneratus,  
 Religioni, quam semper coluerat, innitens,  
 Magno suorum desiderio, nec sine hostium  
 mœrore extinctus est.

Die XIV. Septem. A. D. M.DCC.LIX.  
 Ætat. XLVIII.

Mortales optimi Ducis exuvias, in excavatâ humo,  
 Quam Globus bellicus decedens, desiliensque  
 defoderat,  
 Galli lugentes deposuerunt  
 Et generosæ Hostium fidei commendârunt.

[TRANSLATION.]

HERE LIETH,  
 In either Hemisphere to live for ever,  
 LEWIS JOSEPH DE MONTCALM GOZON,  
 Marquis of St. Veran, Baron of Gabriac,  
 Commendatory of the Order of St. Lewis,  
 Lieutenant General of the French Army.—  
 Not less an excellent Citizen than Soldier ;  
 Who knew no desire but that of true Glory.  
 Happy in a Natural Genius, improved by Literature ;  
 Having gone through the several Steps of Military Honours  
 With an uninterrupted lustre,  
 Skilled in all the Arts of War,  
 The juncture of the times, and the crisis of danger ;  
 In Italy, in Bohemia, in Germany,  
 An indefatigable General :  
 He so discharged his important trust ;  
 That he seemed always equal to still greater.  
 At length grown bright with Perils,  
 Sent to secure the Province of Canada  
 With a handful of Men,  
 He more than once repulsed the Enemy's Forces,  
 And made himself Master of their Forts  
 Replete with Troops and Ammunition.  
 Inured to Cold, Hunger, Watching and Labours,  
 Unmindful of himself,  
 He had no sensation, but for his Soldiers :

An Enemy with the fiercest Impetuosity;  
 A Victor with the tenderest Humanity  
 Adverse Fortune he compensated with Valour;  
 The want of Strength, with Skill and Activity;  
 And, with his Counsel and Support  
 For Four Years protracted the impending  
 Fate of the Colony.—

Having with various Artifices

Long baffled a Great Army,

Headed by an expert and Intrepid Commander,

And a Fleet furnished with all warlike stores:

Compelled at length to an Engagement,

He fell, in the first rank, in the first onset, warm with those hopes  
 of Religion which he had always cherish'd—

To the inexpressible loss of his own Army,

And not without the regret of the Enemy's—

XIV. September, A. D. M.DCC.LIX.

Of his Age XLVIII.

His weeping Countrymen

Deposited the remains of their Excellent General in a Grave

Which a fallen Bomb in bursting had excavated for him,

Recommending them to the general Faith of their Enemies.

No. XVIII.

## MONUMENT ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF GENERAL WOLFE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

The subject is the tragic story of the General's death in the very moment of victory. He is represented in the last agonies of expiring heroism, with his hand closing the wound which the ball that killed him had made in his breast, and falling into the arms of a grenadier, who catches and endeavours to support him on his haunches, while with one hand he holds his feeble arm, and with the other points to glory, in the form of an Angel in the clouds, holding forth a wreath ready to crown him. On the pyramid, in relief, is the faithful Highland Serjeant who attended him, in whose countenance the *big sorrow* at the mournful sight of his dying master, is so powerfully and pathetically expressed, that the most insensible human being cannot look upon him, without, in some sort, sharing in his grief.

This monument does equal honor to the artist who designed it, and the sculptor by whom it was executed. Every part is masterly. The lions that rest upon the base, and the wolves' heads that ornament the flanks, are animated; but above all, the alt-relief that decorates the front, and represents the landing at Quebec, conveys such a lively view of the horrid rocks and precipices which the soldiers had to climb, and the sailors to surmount with the cannon, before they could approach to attack the enemy, that one cannot tell which most to admire, the bravery of the troops, who could conquer under such difficulties, or the art of the sculptor, who could make a represen-

tation so striking. The inscription carries no marks of ostentation, but simply records the facts in the following words :

To the memory of JAMES WOLFE, Major General, and Commander in Chief of the British Land Forces on an expedition against Quebec ; who, after surmounting, by ability and valour, all obstacles of art and nature, was slain in the moment of victory, on the 13th of September, 1759 :

The King and Parliament of Great Britain dedicate this Monument.

#### No. XIX.

### A LIST OF THE SEA AND LAND FORCES EMPLOYED ON THE EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA, IN 1760.

#### FLEET.

| <i>Ships.</i> | <i>Guns.</i> | <i>Commanders.</i> |                                  |
|---------------|--------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| Penzance      | 40           | W. Gough.          | 5 Row Gallies 1 24 pounder each, |
| Diana         | 32           | A. Scomberg.       | 4 ditto 1 22 ditto.              |
| Porcupine     | 16           | T. Macartney.      | 40 Transports.                   |
| Gaspée        | 8            | —                  | 26 Boats.                        |

#### LAND FORCES.

|                                                                                                                                                                                       |   |   |   |   |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|------------|
| A Detachment of Troops from the Garrison of Quebec, consisting of the Grenadiers of the Ten Battalions in Garrison, a Draft from each Battalion, Rangers and Artillery, making in all | - | - | - | - | 2600       |
| The above to be joined by the 22d and 40th Regiments from Louisbourg, under Lord Rollo                                                                                                | - | - | - | - | 1200       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                       |   |   |   |   | <hr/> 3800 |

To be commanded by Brigadier General Murray, and to advance against Montreal, by means of the River St. Lawrence.

The Army under Colonel Haviland, to advance by Lakes George and Champlain, attack the French Post at Isle aux Noix : and having reduced it, to advance against Montreal.—It was composed of,

#### REGULARS.

|                                        |   |   |            |
|----------------------------------------|---|---|------------|
| 1st. or Royal Regiment, four Companies | - | - | 300        |
| 17th Regiment                          | - | - | 600        |
| 27th ditto                             | - | - | 600        |
|                                        |   |   | <hr/> 1500 |

#### PROVINCIALS.

|             |                |             |   |   |      |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|---|---|------|
| 1 Battalion | New Hampshire  | Col. Goffe. | - | - | 250  |
| 1 ditto     | Rhode Island   | Harris,     | - | - | 250  |
| 1 and 2 do. | Massachusetts. | Ruggles,    | - | - | 1000 |
| 3 ditto     |                | Willard,    | - | - |      |
| 4 ditto     |                | Whitcomb,   | - | - |      |
| 5 ditto     |                | Thomas.     | - | - |      |

## RANGERS.

|           |   |   |                 |   |     |
|-----------|---|---|-----------------|---|-----|
| 1 Company | - | - | Captain Rogers, | } | 250 |
| 1 ditto   | - | - | Tate,           |   |     |
| 1 ditto   | - | - | Ja. Rogers,     |   |     |
| 1 ditto   | - | - | Brewer,         |   |     |
| 1 ditto   | - | - | Johnson.        |   |     |

## INDIANS.

|                                       |   |   |                 |     |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|-----------------|-----|
| 1 Company                             | - | - | Captain Solomon | 50  |
| A Detachment Royal Regiment Artillery | - | - |                 | 100 |

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3400

Total of the Corps under Colonel Haviland, embarked  
on the 11th August, in  
80 Whale Boats,  
330 Boats,  
3 Row Gallies, with one Gun each,  
1 Radeau, carrying six 24 pounders, and  
1 Brigantine.

The Army under the Commander in Chief was composed of:

|                                                     |   |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------|---|-----|
| 42d Royal Highlanders, 1st Battalion                | - | 500 |
| Ditto - 2d ditto                                    | - | 450 |
| 46th Regiment - - -                                 | - | 500 |
| 55th ditto - - -                                    | - | 500 |
| 60th ditto - 4th ditto                              | - | 500 |
| 77th ditto - 8 Companies                            | - | 600 |
| 80th ditto - Light Infantry                         | - | 500 |
| Grenadiers of the Army, commanded by Colonel Massey |   | 600 |
| Light Infantry of ditto. Lieutenant Colonel Amherst |   | 600 |
| Rangers { Capts. Ogden's<br>Waite's } Companies     | - | 146 |
| Royal Artillery - - -                               | - | 167 |

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Total Regulars - 3506

|          |   |             |             |   |             |      |
|----------|---|-------------|-------------|---|-------------|------|
| Colonels | { | Schuyler's, | New Jersey  | } | Provincials | 5079 |
|          |   | Le Roux,    | New York    |   |             |      |
|          |   | Woodhull,   | ditto       |   |             |      |
|          |   | Corsa,      | ditto       |   |             |      |
|          |   | Lyman,      | Connecticut |   |             |      |
|          |   | Worster,    | ditto       |   |             |      |
|          |   | Fitch,      | ditto       |   |             |      |
|          |   | Whiting,    | ditto       |   |             |      |

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Total 10,142

A Corps of Indians, under Sir William Johnson 706

Major General Amherst, Commander in Chief.

Brigadier General Gage.

Adjutant General, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Gladwin.

Quarter Master General, Lieutenant Colonel John Bradstreet.  
 Commander of the Artillery, Colonel George Williamson.  
 Commander of the Armed Vessels under General Amherst.  
 Captain Joshua Loring, of the Royal Navy.

No. XX.

### A PROCLAMATION,

By His Excellency JAMES MURRAY, Esquire, Brigadier General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in the River St. Lawrence, Governor of Quebec, and the Conquered Countries.

Whereas I have thought proper, for the benefit of His Majesty's British and Canadian Subjects, to fix a price upon Corn and Flour, and it becomes requisite to do the same upon Bread and Meat, which have been hitherto sold at exorbitant prices; for this purpose, the following Regulations are made, and I do hereby strictly command the due observance of them:—All British Butchers and Bakers, who design to follow the said occupations, are to take out a Licence for the same from the Secretary; and any, who shall pretend to exercise the said Trades without Licence first had and obtained, shall, for the first offence be fined five pounds; and for the second, besides the said fine, shall be imprisoned; the whole of which said fines to be paid to the informer.—The price of bread being of proper weight and well baked as follows:

| <i>Bread,</i>              | <i>Per lb.</i> |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| White.....                 | Five pence,    |
| Middling sort.....         | Four pence,    |
| Brown.....                 | Three pence.   |
| Butcher's Meat as follows: |                |

| <i>Meat,</i> | <i>Per lb.</i> |
|--------------|----------------|
| Beef.....    | Five pence,    |
| Mutton.....  | Ten pence,     |
| Veal.....    | Six pence,     |
| Pork.....    | Four pence.    |

And I do hereby inform all Butchers and Bakers, to conform exactly to these Regulations, on pain of incurring the same penalties, as if they had not taken out a proper Licence.—Given under my Hand and Seal, at Quebec, the 15th January, 1760.

JAMES MURRAY.

By His Excellency's Command,  
 H. T. CRAMAHÉ.



## XXI.

GOVERNOR MURRAY'S GENERAL REPORT ON THE  
ANCIENT GOVERNMENT, AND ACTUAL STATE  
OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, IN 1762.

## STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE FRENCH ADMINISTRATION.

The Governor General was Chief in all Military, and the Intendant in all Civil affairs, the latter superintended the Justice, Police, and Finances of the Government, he heard and judged definitively, all trifling causes, appeals from the regulations of the Inspector of Highways were left to his decision. He issued regulations for the Police of the Town and Country, and emitted his Ordinances fixing a price upon all kinds of provision, at his will and pleasure.

For the easier administration of Justice, he commissioned three sub-delegates residing at Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers, who took cognizance of such matters as were not very intricate; but from their judgment the parties might appeal to the Intendant.

The Prévôté of Quebec, was a Court of Justice, composed of a Lieutenant General, a Lieutenant Particulier, a Procureur du Roi, or King's Attorney; they judged all matters Civil in the first instance, and all appeals from their sentence were brought before the Conseil Supérieur.

The Prévôté likewise took cognizance of appeals from the private jurisdiction, which could be carried again from this Court before the *Conseil supérieur*.

In capital crimes, or such as deserved severe penalties, the Lieutenant General called into his assistance two of the most eminent Lawyers, but still their sentence could not be carried into execution, until the same was confirmed by the Council, at which seven must at least be present.

Attending this Court were six Notaries Public, a Clerk, and six *Huissiers*, of which one was Crier.

The Government of Trois Rivières and Montreal, had each their Lieutenant General, a King's Attorney, Clerk, Notaries and *Huissiers*.

From these, several appeals were brought before the *Conseil Supérieur* established at Quebec, composed of a First Counsellor, who generally presided, and eleven others, of which one or two were Priests; these never were present in Criminal matters: the other officers attending this Court were, an Attorney General, a Chief Clerk, and a *Premier Huissier*.

At Quebec was also a Court of Admiralty, consisting of a Lieutenant General, commissioned by the High Admiral of France, a King's Attorney, a Clerk, and a *Huissier*: this Court took cognizance of Maritime affairs, and appeals from thence were carried before the *Conseil Supérieur*.

There was also an Inspector of the High Roads, or *Grand Voyer*, who had the regulation of all matters relative to them; difficulties which arose from this Officer's regulations were decided by the Intendant.

The only Laws were the King's Edicts, or the *Arrêts* of his Council of State, registered at the *Conseil Supérieur*, and the Intendant's Ordinances: in matters of property, they followed the Custom of Paris, but in marriage settlements they were at liberty to follow the custom of any other Province in that Kingdom.

The age of majority was fixed at twenty-five, but at eighteen, or upon marriage, the Council granted them letters of emancipation, which intitled them to enter immediately into the enjoyment of the moveables and income of their estates.

Guardians are chosen by an assembly of seven of the nearest relations of the minors, and for want of these, of so many of their friends, a public act is drawn out for this transaction, which is registered, and the person elected is sworn to administer faithfully.

*The tenure of Lands here are of two sorts.*

*Fiefs.* 1. *The Fiefs or Seigneuries.*—These lands are deemed noble; on the demise of the possessor, his eldest son inherits one half, and shares with the other children in the remainder, if any of these die without posterity, the brothers share the portion of the deceased exclusive of their sisters. The purchaser of these Fiefs enters into all the privileges and immunities of the same, but pays a fifth of the purchase money to the Sovereign, who is lord of the soil. By law the Seigneur is restricted from selling any part of his land that is not cleared, and is likewise obliged (reserving a sufficiency for his own private domaine) to concede the remainder to such of the inhabitants as require the same, at an annual rent, not exceeding one sol, or one halfpenny sterling, for each arpent in superficies. The Seigneurs had the right of *haute moyenne, et basse justice*, in their several fiefs, but this was attended with so many abuses and inconveniences, that the inferior jurisdictions were mostly disused.

*Terres en Roture.* The lands conceded by the Seigneur is the second sort of tenure, and these all called, *terres en roture*. The property is entirely in the possessors, and the rent they pay can never be raised upon them; they can sell it as they please, but the purchaser is obliged to pay a twelfth of the purchase money to the Seigneur. The children of both sexes share equally in the lands, but if upon a division, the several parts are found unequal to the subsistence of a family, they are obliged to sell to one another. By Law, no man can build upon a piece of land of less extent than one arpent (*a*) half in front, upon a depth of thirty or forty; this was done with a view to promote cultivation, and to oblige the inhabitants to spread; edicts have been published from time to time, to reunite such lands to the crown as were not settled within a term of years prescribed, the last of these was published in one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, a copy of which is annexed.

The Canadians are formed into a militia, for the better regulation of which, each parish, in proportion to its extent and number of inhabitants, is divided into one, two, or more companies,

(*a*) An arpent consists of ten perches, a perch is eighteen feet French measure.

who have their officers, Captains, Lieutenants, Ensigns, Serjeant-Majors, &c. and all orders of public regulations are addressed to the Captains or Commanding Officers, who are to see the same put into execution; from these companies detachments were formed and sent to any distance, and in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, and one thousand seven hundred and sixty, the whole were in arms for the defence of their country.

#### OBSERVATIONS.

The Intendant's fixing a price upon provisions at his own will and pleasure, was liable to much abuse, for though the country was abounding with all kinds of grain; yet under pretence that a large quantity was wanting for the King's service, repeated levies were made upon the Inhabitants, through every part of the province, proportionably to what it was supposed they could spare, the Intendant paying such price as he pleased to set upon it; great part of which grain, was afterwards exported by Commissaries to the French Islands, and when a scarcity was apprehended, they sold the remainder to the public at an advanced price.

Under pretence of a scarcity of black cattle, and before the British troops had made any impression on the Colony, horses were killed and served to the troops, probably to excuse the exorbitant charge of all kind of provisions purchased on the King's account, for notwithstanding the waste made by the two contending Armies, and that the French troops lived intirely upon the country for near two years, we have the strongest ocular proof, there was no occasion to have had recourse to this expedient, if the King's officers had not meant it as a cloak to their knavery.

2. The members of the Courts of Justice were mostly natives of old France, and minded more their own affairs than the administration of justice; their decisions therefore were not much respected, and indeed for success, the parties depended generally more upon the favor and protection of the great, than upon the goodness of their cause.

3. Though the Governor General, the Bishop and the Intendant were by their several offices, presidents of the Council, and that heretofore they had used to be present at their deliberations, in latter times they honored it very little with their presence; a circumstance which contributed much to the general disesteem in which this part of the judicature had fallen.

4. The office of Grand Voyer or inspector of the High-ways, under proper regulations and restrictions, seems to be highly necessary for the ease and benefit of the interior commerce.

5. The Canadians mostly of a Norman race, are in general of a litigious disposition, the many formalities in their proceedings and the multiplicity of instruments to be drawn upon every occasion, seems to encourage this disposition. A short and well digested code, by laying aside many of these, may in a good measure serve to correct it.

Fixing the age of majority at twenty-one, as in other parts of His Majesty's dominions, is an innovation which could not fail of being agreeable to the youth, as the freedom of building where they see convenient, and upon such extent of ground as they think proper, would be acceptable to all the people in general, and promote new establishments; especially the fisheries in the lower parts of the river and gulph of St. Lawrence.

#### REVENUES AND EXPENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE FRENCH ADMINISTRATION.

Though I should properly give a state of the Revenues and Expences of the Government of Quebec only, yet the whole under the French Administration was so blended together, it does not appear practicable to separate the same, and have therefore collected here, all that has come to my knowledge upon this head, without distinction of governments.

#### REVENUES.

5 Posts 1st Five posts, part of the King's Domaine, which were under the  
Tadousac. immediate management of the Director General of it; he furnished  
Checou- them at the King's expence, with the merchandize and effects  
mie. proper for the Indian trade, or fisheries, which was carried on at  
Malbaye. these several posts, and received from thence likewise on the  
Islets de King's account, the furs, oil, fish, or other produce of the same.  
Jeremie.  
Sept Isles.

They had been farmed, but the lease expiring in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, they advertised, and no one bidding for them, on account of the war, the Intendant, lest the savages should quit their usual haunts, ordered them under the foregoing management, which continued until our arrival; the expence far exceeded the produce. They set down the highest rent paid for them when farmed under the French Government, - 7000 livres. —about £291 13 4 Sterling.

#### (2) DUTY ON LIQUORS IMPORTED.

|       |    |    |                                          | Livres. |   |   |              |
|-------|----|----|------------------------------------------|---------|---|---|--------------|
| £0    | 10 | 0  | Wine by the hogshead                     | -       | - | - | 12 0 0       |
| 1     | 0  | 0  | Rum by the hogshead                      | -       | - | - | 24 0 0       |
| 0     | 1  | 0  | Veldt, or measure of 2 gallons of Brandy | -       | - | - | 1 4 0        |
| 0     | 0  | 0½ | Ordinary Wine bottled, per bottle        | -       | - | - | 0 1 0        |
| 0     | 0  | 1½ | Bottled sweet Wine per bottle            | -       | - | - | 0 3 0        |
| 0     | 0  | 5  | Eau de Vie de Liqueur per gallon         | -       | - | - | 0 10 0       |
| £8018 | 2  | 3  | In 1757 the several duties produced      | -       | - | - | 192,434 14 0 |

#### (3) LOTS ET VENTES.

This arises from the sale of Houses and Lands, *en roture*, upon those in the King's possession, the purchasers paying him a twelfth, as to his immediate lord, about

£921 13 11½—This produced in 1757 - - - 22,120 15 2

These are very trifling, as they let to the individuals for no more than six deniers one sol, six deniers trois sols, six deniers or five sols per annum.

|         |   |   |   |   |   |                 |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------|
| £93 2 9 | - | - | - | - | - | Livres 2235 6 2 |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------|

83363 18 3½ This produced in 1755 - - 80733 18 4

N. B. Cordage of all sorts, Salt, and the produce of the Fisheries and other trade in the River St. Lawrence were exempted from this duty.

This produced in 1757.....Livres 38,442

2. There was a Ta-iff likewise for these, in which all kinds of Furs were included, as the East India Company had the exclusive privilege of buying and exporting all the beaver of the country, paying the owners four livres a pound, for the green or winter beaver, the Company paid the King a duty of three per cent for the quantity exported, according to the above rate.

This duty was of two livres per skin, and was the first established in the Colony. The exportation of this article has been considerable, but was of late years much diminished.

|         |                      |   |   |              |
|---------|----------------------|---|---|--------------|
| £56 3 4 | In 1757, it produced | - | - | 1348 livres. |
|---------|----------------------|---|---|--------------|

All sorts of provisions for the growth of Canada, goods for the Indian Trade in the lower parts of the River, horses, shipping country built, timber of all kinds, and salt herrings, were exempted from this duty.

8 In one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine a tax was laid upon every house within the City and Suburbs of Quebec for repairing the Barracks, and keeping the same in order ; the repartition was made by the officers of Justice, and a deputy from the trade, approved by the Governor General and the Intendant.

G

|      |    |    |      |     |    |        |    |   |         |
|------|----|----|------|-----|----|--------|----|---|---------|
| £570 | 17 | 6  | 1753 | do. | to | 13,701 | 0  | 0 | livres. |
| 569  | 8  | 4  | 1754 | do. | to | 13,666 | 6  | 0 |         |
| 578  | 16 | 3  | 1755 | do. | to | 13,891 | 10 | 0 |         |
| 571  | 7  | 11 | 1756 | do. | to | 13,713 | 10 | 0 |         |
| 572  | 11 | 6  | 1757 | do. | to | 13,741 | 0  | 0 |         |
| 563  | 13 | 4  | 1758 | do. | to | 13,528 | 0  | 0 |         |

It is pretty remarkable, that notwithstanding this tax was levied from the year one thousand seven hundred and forty nine inclusive, the King's Edict, ordering the same to be raised from the ensuing January, is dated only in *June* one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three

Besides the foregoing, there were certain casual Duties, such as

#### DROITS D'AUBAINE.

A Foreigner dying intestate, and without Children, the King succeeds to his Estate.

*Droit Deshérance*, likewise to Estates which fail to persons under monastic vows, and therefore incapable of inheriting, as to persons illegitimate, who die without posterity and intestate.

#### DROITS D'EPAVES.

Where whales or wrecks are drove on shore above the high water mark, all expences first deducted, the King had one third, the high Admiral another, and the person who saved it, the remainder.

#### *The Recapitulation in 1759, stood thus :*

|         |    |                  |                                  |         |    |    |
|---------|----|------------------|----------------------------------|---------|----|----|
| 8018    | 2  | 3                | To raised on Liquors imported    | 192,424 | 14 | 0  |
| 921     | 13 | 11               | To Debts on the Lots et Ventes   | 22,120  | 15 | 2  |
| 3363    | 18 | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  | To ditto on Dry Goods Imported   | 80,733  | 18 | 4  |
| 1601    | 15 | 0 $\frac{1}{2}$  | To ditto on ditto exported       | 38,442  | 1  | 5  |
| 56      | 3  | 4                | To ditto on Moose Skins exported | 1,348   | 0  | 0  |
| <hr/>   |    |                  |                                  | <hr/>   |    |    |
| £13,964 | 12 | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ | Total                            | 335,079 | 8  | 11 |

#### EXPENCE OF GOVERNMENT IN 1757.

|                                           |    |   |                               |       |   |            |
|-------------------------------------------|----|---|-------------------------------|-------|---|------------|
| By duties paid on Liquors imported on the |    |   |                               |       |   |            |
| 523                                       | 10 | 0 | King's account                | -     | - | 12,564 0 0 |
| 2719                                      | 3  | 9 | By Sundry Contingent Expences | -     | - | 65,260 0 0 |
| <hr/>                                     |    |   |                               | <hr/> |   |            |
| £3242                                     | 13 | 9 |                               |       |   | 77,824 0 0 |

The particulars of this sum were :—

1. Expences of Criminal Suits, apprehending and guarding Criminals, expences of evidences, &c. 26,004 13 2

This article of expence varied every year more or less, it seldom exceeded the above, and has been as low as 10,000 livres

2 The maintenance of Foundlings, and Bastard Children of the Governments, at the rate of 10 livres per month - - - - - 18,511 5 2

This also varied, one year it amounted to 24,000. Livres.

3. Public Works and High Roads - 9494 15 0

This varies, it has often exceeded 12,000.

4. Expence of Public Prisons, and subsistence of Prisoners - - - - - 11,249 15 2

This article exceeded the usual expence, on account of the English Prisoners

By the Cantine of the Troops in the three Garrisons - - - - - Livres 15,678 7 2

This was a douceur allowed the Staff of each Garrison; the Town Major made out Rolls of the Soldiers of each Garrison, and these were certified by the Comptroller of the Marine; it was supposed three half pints of rum per day were imported for their allowance, the duty on the amount of which was returned by the Receiver General. This perquisite was shared amongst the Governors, who had one half of it, the Staff divided the other half.

Proportion of the several Governments in 1757.

|              |   |   |       |   |   |
|--------------|---|---|-------|---|---|
| Quebec       | - | - | 8,063 | 3 | 7 |
| Montreal     | - | - | 6,122 | 0 | 0 |
| Three Rivers | - | - | 1,492 | 3 | 7 |

Livres 15,678 6 14

By allowed the Attorney General for making out a state of the King's Rents - 1000 0 0

By duties paid on goods imported on the King's account - - - - - 22,160 6 3

By Salaries of officers, and other expences attending the receipt of the King's Revenues - - - - - 36,961 17 1

Livres 69,121 23 4

This last article comprehends:

1. (a) The Salaries of Clerks, Land Waiters and other Revenue Officers - - - - - 27,792 11 6

2. (b) Usual gratifications - - - - - 1270 0 0

3. By sundry other expences, trifling repairs of offices - - - - - 200 0 0

House Rent of ditto - - - - - 4000 0 0

Fuel for ditto - - - - - 1450 0 0

Repair of Canoes - - - - - 400 0 0

Stationary - - - - - 990 5 7

Salary of the Clerk of the Treasurer General of Marine - - - - - 600 0 0

To a Gauger - - - - - 250 0 0

Livres 36,961 17 1

(a) A List of these for 1758 is annexed [No. 3.] That for 1757 did not come into our hands.

(b) This article of Gratification was to reimburse the Governors and other officers what it was supposed they paid for duties.

The foregoing expences were not always the same, and were paid upon the Intendant's orders, and by his directions, in which they differed from the following, which was called, *Etat du Domaine du Roi*, and was the establishment paid by a yearly order from the King, signified by his warrant, signed in Council, and which generally amounted to 114,000 livres, or thereabouts.

|       |    |   |                                       |        |      |     |
|-------|----|---|---------------------------------------|--------|------|-----|
| 25    | 0  | 0 | The Governor General received of this | 609    | 0    | 0   |
| 18    | 5  | 0 | The Intendant - - - -                 | 450    | 0    | 0   |
| 3     | 2  | 6 | The Governor's Secretary - - - -      | 75     | 0    | 0   |
| 6     | 10 | 0 | The Intendant's Secretary - - - -     | 145    | 0    | 0   |
| <hr/> |    |   |                                       | <hr/>  |      |     |
| £53   | 7  | 6 | - - - - -                             | Livres | 1270 | 0 0 |

*By Expence of Forts and Garrisons.*

| Governor General as Governor (a) of the Town and |   |   |                                          |        |        |     |
|--------------------------------------------------|---|---|------------------------------------------|--------|--------|-----|
| £125                                             | 0 | 0 | Castle of Quebec - - - -                 | 3000   | 0      | 0   |
| 157                                              | 1 | 8 | Pay and Provisions of the Garrison (a) - | 3770   | 0      | 0   |
| 20                                               | 0 | 0 | Fuel of ditto - - - -                    | 480    | 0      | 0   |
| 75                                               | 0 | 0 | Lieutenant du Roi (b) - - - -            | 1800   | 0      | 0   |
| 50                                               | 0 | 0 | Town Major (c) - - - -                   | 1200   | 0      | 0   |
| 33                                               | 6 | 8 | Captain of the Gates - - - -             | 800    | 0      | 0   |
|                                                  |   |   |                                          | <hr/>  |        |     |
|                                                  |   |   |                                          | Livres | 11,050 | 0 0 |

MONTREAL.

|     |   |   |                           |           |
|-----|---|---|---------------------------|-----------|
| 125 | 0 | 0 | Governor (a) - - -        | 3000      |
| 54  | 3 | 4 | Pay of the Garrison (a) - | 1300      |
| 83  | 6 | 8 | Lieutenant du Roi (b) -   | 2000      |
| 50  | 0 | 0 | Town Major (c) - -        | 1200      |
|     |   |   |                           | <hr/>     |
|     |   |   |                           | 7,500 0 0 |

TROIS RIVIERES.

|     |   |   |                           |                        |
|-----|---|---|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 125 | 0 | 0 | Governor (a) - - -        | 3000                   |
| 54  | 3 | 4 | Pay of the Garrison (a) - | 1300                   |
| 75  | 0 | 0 | Lieutenant du Roi (b) -   | 1800                   |
| 50  | 0 | 0 | Town Major (c) - -        | 1200                   |
|     |   |   |                           | <hr/>                  |
|     |   |   |                           | 7,300 0 0              |
|     |   |   |                           | <hr/>                  |
|     |   |   |                           | Etat du Roi 25,850 0 0 |

(a) As no Garrisons were kept either at Quebec, Montreal or Trois Rivières, the above were perquisites to the several Governors.

(a) This Officer had by way of gratuity from the Marine Chest, 1000 livres, and 3 per cent from the East India Company, on the Beaver they exported, amounting to about 15000 more.

(b) The Lieutenants du Roi had each about 1800 livres: the Senior of these, had a gratuity of 200 besides; the Lieutenant of Montreal was Senior in 1757.

(c) The Town Majors had a perquisite of two Barrels of Powder each, for the use of their Garrisons, but as they did not exist, they received each in lieu thereof from the Storekeeper 250 livres; each Governor also paid his Town Major one hundred livres for signing Rolls.



## ETAT DU ROI.

| £   |    | By paid to Religious Uses |                                                   |              |
|-----|----|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| 112 | 10 | 0                         | To the Clergy, and in aid of building Churches    | 2700 Livres- |
| 338 | 6  | 8                         | To the Chapter of Quebec                          | 8000         |
|     |    |                           | (a) To the support of seven superannuated Priests |              |
| 83  | 6  | 8                         | or Missionaries                                   | 2000         |
| 316 | 13 | 4                         | (b) To supplement to Curés of poor parishes       | 7600         |
| 554 | 13 | 4                         | To the Jesuits for their Missions and Professor   |              |
|     |    |                           | of Hydrography                                    | 13,300       |
| 50  | 0  | 0                         | To the Recollects of Quebec                       | 1200         |
| 62  | 10 | 0                         | To the Convent of Ursulines                       | 1500         |
| 312 | 10 | 0                         | To the Convent of Hotel Dieu                      | 7500         |
| 83  | 10 | 0                         | To the Convent of Hospital General                | 2000         |
|     |    |                           |                                                   | <hr/> 45,000 |

## AT MONTREAL.

|     |    |   |                                  |              |
|-----|----|---|----------------------------------|--------------|
| 83  | 10 | 0 | To the Hospitaliers              | 2000         |
| 125 | 0  | 0 | To the Filles de la Congregation | 3000         |
|     |    |   |                                  | <hr/> 5000   |
|     |    |   |                                  | <hr/> 76,650 |

## ETAT DU ROI.

*By the Salaries of the Officers of Justice.*

|      |    |   |                                                  |            |
|------|----|---|--------------------------------------------------|------------|
|      |    |   | To the first Councillor of the Council Supérieur | 500        |
|      |    |   | To ten others at 450 each                        | 4500       |
|      |    |   | To the Attorney General                          | 1500       |
|      |    |   | To the Greffier                                  | 700        |
|      |    |   | To the Huissier                                  | 100        |
| 3497 | 18 | 4 |                                                  | <hr/> 7300 |

*Salaries of the Officers of the Prévoté de Quebec.*

|    |    |   |                                       |            |
|----|----|---|---------------------------------------|------------|
| 29 | 3  | 4 | Lieutenant General Civil and Criminal | 700        |
| 25 | 0  | 0 | Lieutenant Particulier                | 600        |
| 12 | 10 | 0 | Procureur du Roi                      | 300        |
| 4  | 3  | 4 | Greffier                              | 100        |
|    |    |   |                                       | <hr/> 1700 |

## MONTREAL.

|    |    |   |                          |           |
|----|----|---|--------------------------|-----------|
| 18 | 15 | 0 | Lieutenant General Civil | 450       |
| 10 | 8  | 4 | Procureur du Roi         | 250       |
|    |    |   |                          | <hr/> 700 |

(a) These were distributed by the Bishop ; of late years he had a gratuity of 450 livres from the Marine.

(b) There was a vacancy of one this year ; the salaries of the three eldest had, of late years, been augmented with a gratuity to each of 150 livres, also from the Marine.

*Salaries of Officers of Police.*

|     |                                      |   |   |     |         |
|-----|--------------------------------------|---|---|-----|---------|
| (a) | To the Grand Voyer                   | - | - | 600 | Livres. |
| (b) | To the Prevôt du Marechaux de France | - | - | 500 |         |
| (c) | To an Exempt under him               | - | - | 300 |         |
| (d) | To four Archers, 175 livres each     | - | - | 700 |         |
|     | To a Hangman                         | - | - | 300 |         |
|     |                                      |   |   |     | <hr/>   |
|     |                                      |   |   |     | 2430    |

*By the expences of the Hospital at Quebec.*

|     |   |   |                       |   |   |       |
|-----|---|---|-----------------------|---|---|-------|
| £50 | 0 | 0 | Salary of a Physician | - | - | 1200  |
| 50  | 0 | 0 | First Surgeon         | - | - | 1200  |
| 36  | 6 | 8 | Second Surgeon        | - | - | 800   |
| 35  | 0 | 0 | Midwife               | - | - | 600   |
|     |   |   |                       |   |   | <hr/> |
|     |   |   |                       |   |   | 3600  |

*By sundry Extraordinary Expences.*

|    |    |   |                                                   |       |
|----|----|---|---------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 41 | 13 | 4 | To publication of Decrees in Council              | 1000  |
| 4  | 3  | 4 | (a) Expences of Fuel in Council Room              | 100   |
| 8  | 6  | 8 | Travelling charges of the Archers                 | 200   |
|    |    |   | Allowed the Bishop, in lieu of duties paid by him | 500   |
|    |    |   |                                                   | <hr/> |
|    |    |   |                                                   | 1800  |

By paid to the Establishment of Louisbourg, a pension to the Count of Gracie, son to the Marquis of Maintenon, in lieu of some lands

|      |    |   |                                                   |   |         |
|------|----|---|---------------------------------------------------|---|---------|
| 250  | 0  | 0 | taken into the King's hands                       | - | 6000    |
| 333  | 6  | 8 | Ditto to the Religious Brothers of la Charité     | - | 8000    |
| 62   | 10 | 0 | Ditto to the Nuns of the Congregation             | - | 1500    |
| 50   | 0  | 0 | Ditto to four Counsellors at 300 each             | - | 1200    |
| 16   | 13 | 4 | Ditto to the Procureur General, all at said place | - | 400     |
|      |    |   |                                                   |   | <hr/>   |
|      |    |   |                                                   |   | 17100   |
| 83   | 6  | 8 | By a Pension to a Botanist at Louisiana           | - | 2000    |
|      |    |   |                                                   |   | <hr/>   |
| 4757 | 10 | 0 | Total of the Etat du Roi                          | - | 114,180 |

*The Salary and Perquisites of the Governor General.*

|                                                 |   |   |                                   |   |   |        |
|-------------------------------------------------|---|---|-----------------------------------|---|---|--------|
| 500                                             | 0 | 0 | From the Marine Funds Appointment | - | - | 12,000 |
| From ditto, allowance of freight of necessaries |   |   |                                   |   |   |        |
| 125                                             | 0 | 0 | from France                       | - | - | 3000   |

(a) This Officer had, of late years, obtained an addition of 300 livres, out of the Marine funds.

(b) This Officer had likewise an allowance of 10 livres per diem extraordinary, when out upon his duty. If the Inhabitants applied to him to make out Roads for their own private advantage, they were at all the expences attending the same.

(c) This Officer had likewise an allowance of 7 livres 10 sols per diem, travelling charges, when out upon the execution of his office.

(d) These were severally allowed three livres per diem, whenever sent in pursuit of deserters, or other criminals.

(a) This was a perquisite of the Lieutenant General, and as the firing would have cost three times the sum, the Intendant supplied the same out of the King's Yard.

|       |    |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |         |             |
|-------|----|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|
| £     |    |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |         |             |
| 125   | 0  | 0   | From the Domain, as private Governor of Quebec                                                                                                                                                                                          | 3000    | Livres.     |
| 157   | 1  | 8   | From ditto by the Garrison                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 3770    |             |
| 25    | 0  | 0   | From ditto in lieu of what he paid for duties                                                                                                                                                                                           | 600     |             |
|       |    |     | From the Marine a Company of Guards, called Caribineers to attend him, they had usually two or three, and on public and state days they found people enough to complete the numbers; it consisted of                                    |         |             |
| 58    | 6  | 8   | A Captain at                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 1400    |             |
| 41    | 3  | 4   | A Lieutenant do.                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 1000    |             |
| 25    | 0  | 0   | An Ensign do.                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 600     |             |
| 238   | 15 | 0   | Seventeen private men, at 27 livres per month                                                                                                                                                                                           | 5610    |             |
| 363   | 5  | 0   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |         | 8610        |
|       |    |     | From the East India Company, a present of 2 per cent on all the Beaver exported by them, valuing the whole, upon an average, at two livres per pound; this varied every year, but upon a medium, may be set down                        | 6000    |             |
| 250   | 0  | 0   | His share of the Cantine as before stated; this likewise varied, in 1757 it produced                                                                                                                                                    | 4031    |             |
|       |    |     | The Belts of Wampum presented by the Savages to the Governor, at the several conferences he had with the different Tribes, which Belts he sent to the King's Stores, to be worked up into another form, and for which the king paid him | 2000    |             |
| 83    | 6  | 8   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |         | 43,011      |
| 1782  | 2  | 6   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |         |             |
|       |    |     | <i>The Salary and Perquisites of the Intendant.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                     |         |             |
| 500   | 0  | 0   | From the Marine Appointments                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 12000   |             |
| 125   | 0  | 0   | From do. allowance of Freight of necessaries from France                                                                                                                                                                                | 3000    |             |
| 18    | 5  | 0   | From the Domain, in lieu of Duties paid                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 450     |             |
|       |    |     | From the East India Company, a present of 1½ per cent on all the Beaver exported by them, at a medium                                                                                                                                   | 4500    |             |
| 187   | 10 | 0   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |         |             |
| 50    | 0  | 0   | From the Marine allowance, for a Secretary                                                                                                                                                                                              | 1200    |             |
| 50    | 0  | 0   | From do. for a Gardener                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 1200    |             |
|       |    |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |         | 22,350      |
|       |    |     | From the foregoing it appears, that the Country Duties raised in 1757, together with the other Revenues belonging to the King, produced that                                                                                            |         |             |
| 13961 | 12 | 10½ | year, the sum of                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 335,079 | 8 11        |
|       |    |     | From which deducting the Etat du Roy, amounting to                                                                                                                                                                                      | 114,180 | 0 0         |
|       |    |     | And the expences ordered on                                                                                                                                                                                                             |         |             |
| 11158 | 10 | 5¼  | this side by the Intendant                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 153,624 | 10 6        |
| 2803  | 2  | 5½  | Surplus.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 267,804 | 10 6        |
|       |    |     | Remains Surplus                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Livres  | 67,274 18 5 |

Which surplus, when there was any, was paid by the Receiver General of the King's Domain, into the hands of the Commissary of the Treasurer General of the Marine, as an addition to that fund, out of which all the general expences were paid, such as the subsistence and provisions of the French Battalions, forty companies of Marines and detachment of Royal Artillery serving in Canada, the officers of the Naval Yard at Quebec, and in short all other extraordinary expences attending the military and civil government of Canada; the officers of the Courts of Admiralty only excepted, who were paid by the High Admiral of France.

The expence of Government in this country was formerly very moderate; for a series of years to that of 1726, it never exceeded 360,000 livres; the two ensuing ones it was advanced to about half a million, on account of the Colony being at war at that time with the Indian nation of Renards; from this period it gradually increased to a million, and from the breaking out of the war with Great Britain in 1744, till peace was concluded with her in 1748, the annual expence amounted to about two millions, in the month of August of that very year, the late Intendant, Monsieur Bigot came over; the expences have ever since increased, and to 1753 inclusive, did not amount to less than four or five millions every year.

|                                                                                                               | Livres.            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| In 1754 Bills of Exchange were drawn on France for                                                            | 6,000,000          |
| 1755 on ditto ditto - - - - -                                                                                 | 5,500,000          |
| 1756 on ditto ditto - - - - -                                                                                 | 8,000,000          |
| 1757 on ditto ditto - - - - -                                                                                 | 12,000,000         |
| 1758 on ditto ditto - - - - -                                                                                 | 24,000,000         |
| 1759 on ditto ditto - - - - -                                                                                 | 30,000,000         |
| In 1760 the Intendant was directed not to exceed two millions four hundred thousand livres, and draw only for | 1,300,000          |
| To the above is to be added, the paper money remaining in the country, and for which no                       |                    |
| £4,533,333 6 8 Letters of Exchange have been drawn                                                            | 22,000,0000        |
| Of the whole, upon the most moderate computation, at least eighty millions are still due                      |                    |
| 3,333,33 6 8                                                                                                  |                    |
|                                                                                                               | <hr/>              |
|                                                                                                               | Livres 108,800,000 |

The method of transacting the business was this. The Intendant for every expence emitted the ordinances which passed current with his bare signature only, one of which is annexed (No. 4,) to shew the nature of it; in August notice was given to the proprietors to bring them into the treasury within the month of September, and until the 10th of October, the ordinances in their possession, for which they took the Treasurer's receipt, and commenced drawing the letters of exchange, which continued fifteen or twenty days, or until the navigation was shut up.

From the year 1740 to that of 1746, letters of exchange were drawn only for three fourths of the value brought into the treasury, these indeed payable in six, seven, eight, or nine months, when they were duly discharged, the remaining fourth, was reimbursed the proprietors, by a card money, of which there is nearly to the amount of a million still existing in the Colony.

From 1746 to 1752 Letters of Exchange were drawn for the full sum brought into the Treasury, and were all made payable some time within the ensuing year. But the expences having increased considerably, orders were given to divide those of the year into three equal parts, payable in one, two, or three years. This was put in execution in 1753, but the very year following, another arrangement took place, only one fourth part was made payable in the course of the ensuing year, one half two years after that, and the remaining fourth in three, and this method was never after observed till the year 1760.

By this means great numbers of those drawn in the preceding years, were not yet come in course of payment, when the King's arrêt of October 1759, suspended their payment entirely.

N. B. The Clerk of the Marine, and other Officers employed in that department having left the Country, it has not been possible to procure certain accounts of the expence of that branch.

N. B. Throughout these calculations, and every other part of this Report, the French livre, to avoid fractions, is estimated at ten pence sterling.

#### OBSERVATIONS.

1. I had the honor to inform the Lords of the Treasury very fully of the State of the King's Posts, in a letter to Mr. Martin, their Secretary, of the 7th of November last, at the same time that I transmitted all the Accounts relative thereto by Mr. Ainslie, whom I entrusted with the management of them until I could receive instructions from home ; I am thoroughly persuaded, the proposal I therein made to their Lordships, of letting them to the highest bidder, for a term of years, is the surest expedient to make them profitable to His Majesty.

2. The duty on liquors will ever bring in a considerable sum, for though the Canadians are not in general given to drunkenness, yet men, women and children, are used to drink a certain quantity of strong liquors, the severity of the climate having probably introduced this practice ; by the great improvement likely to be made in the Fisheries, the consumption of these will considerably increase.

3. As the Canadians seem thoroughly reconciled to the use of British Corn Spirits, the consumption thereof could suffer no diminution from a moderate duty upon the same of six pence per gallon, and that of Rum or New England Spirits might be raised to a shilling ; this will check the importation of the latter, and favor that of the former ; that the Revenue may not suffer by this measure, it will be necessary to prevent any attempts which may be made of smuggling by the Lakes, while they are navigable, as well as when they are to be travelled over by carriages.

#### CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

*The Bishop*—When the Bishoprick of Quebec was erected in 1664, the see was endowed by Louis XIV, with the revenues of two Abacies, those of Benevent and L'Estrie ; about thirty years ago the

then Bishop finding it difficult, considering the distance, to recover the revenues of them, by consent of Louis XV, resigned the same to the Clergy of France, to be united to a particular revenue of theirs, stiled the *œconomats* applied to the augmentation of small livings, in consideration of which, the Bishop of this see, has ever since received yearly 8000 livres out of the said revenues. A few years before the late Bishop's death, the Clergy of France, granted him for his life only, a further pension of 2,000 livres; the Bishop had no estate whatever, except his Palace at Quebec, destroyed by our Artillery, a garden and the ground rent of two or three houses adjoining it, and built on some part of the lands.

#### THE CHAPTER OF QUEBEC.

The Chapter consisted of a Dean and twelve Canons, their revenue consisted of an Abbey in France, which brought them in about four thousand livres, and a pension from the King of eight thousand, paid out of the *Domane*, the whole was divided into fourteen shares, of which the Dean had two.

There is one vacancy in the Chapter; the present Bishop, the Abbé de la Corne, a Canadian, and five of the Canons are in France.

The Town and suburbs form but one parish, which is very extensive, and is served by a Curé with two Vicars under him; the Church is Parochial as well as Cathedral, no part of it is left standing but the bare walls; a Chapel of ease in the Lower Town was likewise burned during the siege.

The people at present perform their devotions in the Chapels of the several Religious Communities; some part of the Lordship of Quebec is the property of the Cathedral or parish Church, stiled here, *la Fabrique*, and is appropriated to the repairs of it; a dispute subsists between the Chapter and Seminary about the nomination of the Curé, the affair was to have been judged by the King but was still undecided.

#### THE JESUITS.

They possess a large commodious house, handsome Chapel, and a spacious garden, within the Upper Town; the house and Chapel suffered a good deal from our artillery, but might be easily repaired; no other place in the town being so proper, it has, and is still made use of as a magazine of provisions; for this reason it was necessary to dislodge the Fathers the first winter, lest their turbulent and intriguing genius should prompt them to play some trick which might have proved fatal in the then critical situation of affairs, and which they could perhaps have easily compassed, had they been suffered to reside in the house. After the capitulation of Montreal, they were re-admitted, are conveniently lodged in one wing of it, and have freely consented to his Majesty's making use of the remainder.

Their particular province is the instructing of youth, and the missions of the Savages; the King allowed on account of the latter, fifteen thousand, three hundred livres.

They had a very large estate in this country, and hold some lands

in the Town *en Roture*, but are Lords of very large tracts in this Government, and of very considerable ones in the other two.

They possess in that of Quebec, the best part of the large and rich parishes of Charlebourg, that of Lorette, and most of Ste Foy ; by the best accounts their revenues cannot be short of thirty thousand livres per annum, and most probably exceed it, of which they have in this Government, about 11,000 livres.

They have only two missions here, one to the Hurons at Jeune Lorette near Quebec, the other to the Montagnais at Tadoussac and Chicoutimi.

The whole number in Quebec Government, the two missionaries included, is nine ; the Superior is nominated in France, and holds his office generally six years.

#### THE RECOLLETS.

This is an order of mendicant Friars, who possess nothing of their own but a house and garden in the Upper Town. They had a piece of ground in the suburbs of St. Roc, on which they had formerly a house and Church which has been abandoned for some years. A small part of the Intendants buildings is erected upon a piece of this land, in consideration of which, under the French Government, they were paid fifty livres a year from the Marine by way of charity, as they can receive no rents ; they acted as Chaplains to the army and at several Forts and Posts, and in failure of regular Clergy, served vacant Cures.

They have a provincial Commissary resident here, who superintends the whole in Canada, sent from France, and changed every three years ; the present one has discharged it twice on account of the war.

They have in this Government,

|                         |   |   |   |   |   |    |
|-------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| Fathers                 | - | - | - | - | - | 10 |
| As Servants or Brothers |   |   |   |   |   | 9  |

---

19

#### SEMINARY OF QUEBEC.

These are secular Clergy ; their institution is to educate the youth and fit them for the priesthood. They have a large house and Chapel in the city of Quebec, both in a ruinous condition ever since the siege of 1759 ; it is a dependance upon the Seminary for foreign missions at Paris, who nominate the Superior and Directors of that of Quebec, and the whole extent of the country from the Sault de Montmorenci to the river du Goufre in the bay of St. Paul's inclusively, and the Island of Coudres. This immense tract does not bring them in very considerably ; their great revenue in these parts arising from the two large farms in the parish of St. Joachim, where before the breaking out of the war, they had between three and four hundred head of Cattle ; on their estate in the bay of St. Paul's, they discovered some years ago, a *lead mine* ; the veins which have been tried are slight, but two Germans who were brought over to the country

on account of the like discoveries in the upper country, examined this and thought it worth the working; the war has prevented making further essays upon it. The income of their estate in this Government is about 9,000 livres per annum.

They consist at present only of the Superior and four Directors.

#### CONVENT OF HOTEL DIEU OF QUEBEC.

This is a community of women particularly instituted for the care of the sick. They had been in good circumstances, but their house having been entirely consumed by fire a few years ago, they are considerably indebted for the rebuilding of it.

This house has two distinct purses, one belonging to the community, another to the poor.

The former owes about 108,000 livres to different Artificers and for sums borrowed towards rebuilding the Convent.

They have a rent charge upon the Hotel de Ville of Paris, which brings them in - - - - - 1330 Livres.

A Seigneurie in Charlebourg, with estates and  
a garden in this Town. - - - - - 3500

4830

For its share of the 7,500 paid by the King - 3000

Livres 7,830

They keep some pretty large farms in their hands, cultivated by their domesticks, out of the produce whereof they are at present chiefly subsisted.

Number of Nuns 33  
(a) Invalids - - - 33

66

The poor have a rent charge on the Hotel de Ville of Paris, foundation of a Dutchess d'Aguillon. - - - Livres 646 12 0

The Lordship of St. Augustin - - - - - 1200 0 0

Their other estates in the suburbs of Quebec  
including a small one in the Island of Orleans  
produce about - - - - - 500 0 0

Their part of the King's bounty - - - - - 4000 0 0

Livres 6346 12 0

#### CONVENT OF THE URSULINES OF DITTO.

This is likewise a community of women, their institution is for the education of young girls.

They have a rent charge on the Hotel de Ville  
of Paris for - - - - - Livres 1400 0 0

A Farm in Normandy - - - - - 900 0 0

The Lordship of Port Neuf in this country,  
and St. Croix, about - - - - - 772 0 0

(a) They are not in circumstances to take in any.



|                                            |   |        |      |       |
|--------------------------------------------|---|--------|------|-------|
| Their other estates in and about this Town | - | 960    | 0    | 0     |
|                                            |   |        |      | <hr/> |
|                                            |   | Livres | 4082 | 0 0   |

Nuns - 38

The chief estate of this community consists in there Boarders, and a number of little ingenious works, for which there is a great demand, by means of which they live decently and comfortably.

#### THE GENERAL HOSPITAL NEAR QUEBEC.

This is a community of women; they have a foundation for taking care of thirty invalids, idiots, or incurables, which they are at present in no condition to fulfil, their revenues being no way equal to the expence, and as a large sum is owing them by the King of France for the sick of his army. In the time of the French, they were allowed rations for as many of the above as they took in, and a pension of two thousand livres. The Ladies of this community are of the best families in Canada, and by the presents they were continually receiving from them, they were chiefly enabled to subsist; that resource is now at an end, as the gentry, in general, are in the most distressed circumstances.

They owe a very large debt, contracted in a good measure for the sick officers and soldiers of the French army; the French King owes them a large sum sufficient to discharge it, but they must be reduced to the utmost beggary and distress if he does not; the sale of all their houses and lands will scarce be sufficient to satisfy their creditors. Their whole estate in this country does not bring them in at the most above

|                                       |   |   |   |   |      |         |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|------|---------|
| -                                     | - | - | - | - | 5000 | Livres. |
| A rent on the Hotel de Ville at Paris | - |   |   |   | 1800 |         |

Livres 6800

Their Numbers, Nuns 38

|          |   |    |
|----------|---|----|
| Invalids | - | 38 |
|----------|---|----|

---

66

#### FILLES DE LA CONGREGATION.

This was an institution for teaching young girls to read and write; they take the vows but are not cloistered, and go abroad about their business; they are poor: however besides what they possess in the other two Governments, they had a house in the Lower Town destroyed by our Artillery, one at Pointe au Tremble, and one with a small Farm at St. Famille in the Island of Orleans. Their number at present in this Government is four.

This Government is divided into fifty Parishes, some of which are small and not thoroughly inhabited as yet; for want of regular Clergy, several of the Recollets serve the Cures, and in some places one Curé serves two, the whole is under the inspection of a Vicar General at present, during the vacancy of the see.

#### OBSERVATIONS.

1. The Canadians are very ignorant and tenacious of their religion.

nothing can contribute so much to make them staunch subjects to His Majesty, as the new Government giving them every reason to imagine no alteration is to be attempted in that point.

2. Care was taken under the former Government, to keep up a great part of the Clergy, *French, especially the dignified part*; to prevent the further importation of these, it would be necessary to encourage the natives to engage in the profession, which cannot be so well done except the see is filled up; as without a Bishop there can be no ordination; no difficulty will attend this, as it is unendowed; though hereafter means may be found out for making up this deficiency.

3. A like difficulty occurs in relation to the Chapter, their number might be reduced by letting the vacancies lie dormant, if some provision cannot be made for them, as will hereafter be proposed.

4. An expedient to assist the people in rebuilding their great Church, would much ingratiate their new masters with them.

5. The Jesuits are neither loved nor esteemed in general, and this order may be easily removed, whenever the Government shall think proper, without giving offence out of part of their estate, and a sufficient fund might be made for the Bishoprick and Chapter, which would ease the Crown of further expence on that head.

6. The Recollets is an order of Mendicants; as they depend upon charity for subsistence, they are careful not to give offence; probably, should they find the inhabitants upon the present change, cool towards their order, they will of themselves seek a better living some where else.

7. The Seminary educates the youth and fit them for Orders, it will be necessary to preserve and encourage this house on that account; and it is to be observed, this was the only religious house or order, that heretofore did not participate in the French King's bounty.

8. As to the community of women, they are much esteemed and respected by the people; the narrowness of their circumstances will probably prevent their being filled up so easily as in former times. When the Canadians become a little more reconciled to British customs and Government, it may not be amiss, under colour of serving these communities in their distressed situation, to restrict the admission of any under a certain sum; this regulation with another, fixing a certain age, under which, no vows are to be taken, would probably soon reform the worst abuses of such institutions.

9. There are some few French Protestants in this country, who no doubt will be willing to remain. It would be a great comfort to these, if a Church was granted for their use, and some French Clergyman of sound sense and good character, with a tolerable salary, was invited to settle among them; such an establishment may be attended with the further good consequences of enticing many of their brethren in France, to come and enjoy that religious liberty, after which, they so ardently sigh, amidst a people sprung from the same origin, speaking the same language, and following the same cus-

toms ; it may likewise be conducive towards bringing about a reformation by slow degrees, and must at least prove to the Canadians, there is nothing in our Holy Religion repugnant to virtue or morality.

#### INDIAN NATIONS RESIDING WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT.

In order to discuss this point more clearly, I shall first take notice of the Savages on the North shore of the River St. Lawrence, from the ocean upwards ; and then of such as inhabit the South side of the same river, as far as the present limits of the government extends on either side of it.

##### 1. THE SAVAGES ON THE NORTH SHORE.

The first to be met with on this side, are the Esquimaux, these are the wildest and most untameable of any, and are emphatically stiled by the other nations, Savages ; they never dress their food, but eat fish rotted in the sun, and drink the oil it produces.

Travellers represent them as hardy, active, and expert navigators ; in summer they come with their whole families in cha-loups to fish in all the Streights of Belleisle ; these they leave in the bays, and go out themselves to a considerable distance in canoes made of skins, wherein they sew themselves up ; their clothes and the sails of their vessels are made of the skins of wild beasts, they are reckoned treacherous, and have had many rencounters with the French and Canadians employed in the fisheries. In those parts they are much fairer than other Indians, and are bearded, their language is not understood, but a few words they make use of nearly resembles the dialect of some of the most northern European nations. A few here have trafficked with them and have made considerable advantages by it, but they never agree well together ; any trade however with the Esquimaux must be precarious, the coast is rocky and difficult of access, the seasons for navigation short, and the risques too great to entice adventurers ; they have never been known to have come on this side of *la Fortune*.

##### 2. MONTAGNAIS OR MONSONIS,

Inhabit a vast tract of country from Labradore to the Saguenay ; they are again distinguished into those who live in the inland parts called Nascapis, and the inhabitants of the water side, for this reason stiled Chichouselapishouets, they take as many different names as they have different villages, but are all the same people, and speak the same language ; as in the interior parts of the country, there are many Lakes and Rivers which communicate with Hudson's Bay ; the former often trade on that side, which the latter would also have been obliged to do if the interruption caused by the war had continued for any time, tho' from the more convenient situation they would ever have reverted to those who were masters of the St. Lawrence ; these are the mildest and most tractable of all savages, and never enter into war, tho' their country is extensive, their numbers are inconsiderable ; from Labrador to Mingan. the traders

do not reckon more than from eighty to one hundred families, and of those who resort to the King's posts, there may be about two hundred and twenty families in all, but as their habitations are easily moved they are ever changing and shifting from one place to another: a Jesuit missionary meets them at Tadousac, when they come there for the trade, and he resides in the neighbourhood all the year.

3. The most civilized of all the Indians in this part of the world, are the Hurons settled at a little village called Jeune Lorette, about three leagues from Quebec; these are all Roman Catholicks, and are a decent, well behaved people. It is now many years since they were removed there from their ancient habitations about Lake Huron or Erie, are settled upon lands belonging to the Jesuits, and live much the same manner as the Canadians; they have excellent good houses, cultivate their own lands and live upon the produce. In the hunting season they go into the woods, and hunt themselves, or traffick with the more remote Indians for their peltries; some of the elders have been so tenacious of their mother tongue, they hardly speak a word of French, but most of the younger ones speak it tolerably well; indeed it ever has been the policy of the French Government to make them retain that, and as much of their ancient customs as possible, that they might prove of great use to them in case of war with other nations; at the same time, they endeavoured to attach them to their interest by every tie; a Missionary resides among them, they have a neat Chapel where Divine Service is constantly performed; at which all the Savages assist, with a punctuality and decorum, worthy of imitation by more enlightened people; they seem to be well satisfied with the change of masters, and were so particularly pleased at their village being spared during the winter 1759, tho' forced by the French to abandon it, that they never could prevail upon them to act with any degree of vigour against us. They have at present but thirty-two warriors, and the whole village, men, women and children are short of one hundred; their number is decreased at least one half within these forty years, and the Tribe would, by this time, have been almost extinguished but for the supplies they got by captures in war, and the sale of unhappy infants, whose parents choose to conceal their own shame at the expence of such iniquitous bargains.

## 2. SAVAGES ON THE SOUTH SHORE.

These have wandered about the country so very much, and have been so unsettled by continuing wars and frequent revolutions that have happened on this part of the Continent, it is hard to give any tolerable account of them at this time. By the best information we have been able to collect, the Micamais were settled and some are still about the Bay *des Chaleurs*, and upon the coasts and bays in the Gulph; they are not at present very numerous, in 1759 about one hundred of them joined the French.

The Kenebecks and Micmacs inhabit about the River St. John's and Pentagouest; their language and that of the Abenakis is pretty nearly alike, and the Three Nations are a good deal intermixed; the

latter were settled about Naranbsouac and Ponouanske, now wander about the South shore, and range the woods as they find it best answer their purpose, with those of the same Tribe at St. François and Becancour in the government of Three-Rivers, if computed they may amount to twelve or fifteen hundred families, and in 1759, about six hundred fighting men of these three nations joined the French army near Quebec.

Under the French, they were the only Indians who resorted to this place, where they received from the Government presents of powder, shot, vermillion, and other trifles, in time of war, cloathing and provisions.

Montreal was the chief seat of the Fur Trade, and the greatest concourse of remote and back Indians are of those who traded with them, was there. There the Governor General used to meet and confer with Chiefs, and all business relative to them was mostly transacted there.

From the Governor of Montreal, therefore your Lordships will certainly get fuller and better accounts on this head than I can possibly give.

I have, and shall ever be, very attentive that due justice as far as in my power shall be done to them; few complaints have as yet been made; when there have been any, they have met with instant redress.

#### 7. NATURE OF THE SOIL AND ITS PRODUCE.

With very slight cultivation, all sorts of grain are here easily produced, and in great abundance; the inhabitants are inclinable enough to be lazy, and not much skilled in husbandry.

The great dependance they have hitherto had on the gun and fishing rod, made them neglect tillage, beyond the requisites of their own consumption, and the few purchases they needed; the monopolies that were carried on here in every branch, made them careless of acquiring beyond the present use; and their being often sent on distant parties and detachments to serve the particular purposes of greedy and avaricious men, without the least view of public utility, were circumstances under which no Country could thrive: as they will not be subject to such inconveniences under a British Government, and being necessarily deprived of arms, they must of course apply more closely to the culture of their lands.

The Mines already discovered, and the mineral and sulphurous waters in many parts of this Country, leave no room to doubt, nature has been bountiful to it in this respect; and that further discoveries and improvements are likely to be made with regard to these, whenever it becomes more populous. Notwithstanding the waste of war, which they have more severely felt from their pretended friends, than from their declared foes, the Country will abound, in three or four years, with all kinds of provision, sufficient to answer not only their home consumption, but even to export, if a market can be procured.

#### OBSERVATIONS.

1. They grow both flax and hemp in some parts of the Country,

and many of the lands are well cultivated for this production ; it will be right to turn the thoughts of the people towards the cultivation of this article, so essential to Great Britain, and for which she annually pays great sums to foreigners ; a few premiums properly disposed of, some Germans and Russians skilled in raising and preparing the same, and encouraged for that purpose to become settlers here, may, in a short time, greatly improve this most useful branch of agriculture.

2. This will be one means of employing the women and children, during the long winters, in breaking and preparing the flax and hemp for exportation, will divert them from manufacturing coarse things for their own use, as it will enable them to purchase those of a better sort, manufactured in, and exported from Great Britain.

#### POPULATION.

The present state of population may be easily seen by the account of the number of people in this Government, taken about a twelve month ago.\* There is great reason to believe this Colony has been upon the decrease in this respect, for near twenty years past ; the wars which they have been almost constantly carrying on ; the strictness with which marriages within certain degrees of consanguinity were forbidden, except by dispensation, the obliging strangers inclined to engage in that state, previously to prove their not being married before, and the prohibition of intermarriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics, were so many bars to the propagation of the species ; these difficulties are now, in a good measure removed ; the men are an active, strong, and healthy race, the women extremely prolific, and in all human probability the next twenty years will produce a vast increase of people.

#### 9. TRADE.

The French bent their whole attention in this part of the world to the Fur trade ; they never entered heartily, or with any spirit, into the Fisheries ; most of what was done in this way, was by adventurers from the Ports of France ; some fish indeed, lumber and provisions, were exported to the French Islands. Had this trade been opened, and agriculture promoted here, with any degree of warmth, this branch of commerce must have become both valuable and extensive ; but it was monopolized into the hands of few, by the connivance and management of the Chiefs. The sole view of these, being to enrich themselves by every means, the interest of the State could not fail of being sacrificed upon all occasions.

By the best accounts we can procure, the value of furs exported in the year 1754, and 1755, taken from the duties paid thereon, stood thus.

|          |   |    |   |     |         |   |           |    |   |
|----------|---|----|---|-----|---------|---|-----------|----|---|
| £ 64,495 | 4 | 7½ | - | (a) | In 1754 | - | 1,547,885 | 11 | 0 |
| 52,735   | 8 | 4  | - | (b) | In 1755 | - | 1,265,650 | 0  | 0 |

But the most intelligent Traders here estimate the exportation of

\* In 1759, the Population of the whole Province was counted at 60,000 souls.

(a) No 7, shewing of furs and Quebec price.

(b) No. 8, ditto ditto.

this one article to have amounted, one year with another, to near one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling per annum.

The exportation of these two years apparently falls very short of this estimation; but it is probable a considerable quantity was run, for the value of imports amounted

|           |    |                |                                      |           |    |    |                  |    |   |
|-----------|----|----------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|----|----|------------------|----|---|
| 216,765   | 4  | 9 <sup>1</sup> | (a) In 1754                          | -         | -  | to | 5,202,461        | 15 | 0 |
| 75,560    | 8  | 9 <sup>1</sup> | The exports of the same year only to | 1,813,450 | 11 | 0  |                  |    |   |
|           |    |                | Balance against the Colo.            |           |    |    |                  |    |   |
| £ 141,208 | 16 | 0              | ny would consequently appear         | }         |    |    | Livres 3,389,011 | 4  | 0 |

Which carries with it no degree of probability but a strong presumption, that in this as indeed in every other branch, the public were ill served. Such of their Custom House books as have come into our hands are so confused and irregular, that even the late Mr. Tarrant, sent by the Lords of the Treasury to inquire into the commercial state of this Country, though sensible and skilled in transactions of the like nature, could collect little information from them.

The French East India company had the sole privilege of exporting Beaver; for this purpose the company had an Agent in each government, a director and a comptroller; a stated price was paid for it, four livres a pound for the green or winter Beaver, and one livre ten sols for the parchment, or summer one; the company's officers gave their receipt for the quantities brought into their store houses. These became current in the colony as cash; and in October, the Agents drew bills of exchange on the company for the amount of receipts brought into their office, which were ever held in more esteem than those drawn on the royal treasury.

The Province of New-York and Philadelphia, now share with Canada, a great part of the Fur Trade, formerly in the hands of the French; but that proportion of it which the Quebec government enjoyed, must remain hers unalterably.

The foregoing is an attempt to sketch the trade of Canada, while subject to the French government, but, under the full enjoyment of his Majesty's mild and gentle administration, its commerce must furnish a greater extent.

Almost immense and extensive cod fisheries can be established in the River and Gulph of St. Lawrence, and may, in time, prove an inexhaustable source of wealth and power to Great Britain. Settlements may be formed in the neighbourhood of the best fishing places, to which the industrious and intelligent in that branch, may be invited and encouraged to repair; a rich tract of country on the South side of the gulph, will in consequence, be settled and improved; a port or ports established and furnished with every material requisite to repair ships that have suffered by stress of weather, or the difficulties attending navigation in such narrow seas, a point much wanted, which will lessen the risks and considerably increase the profits of the commerce of this colony.

(a) No. 9, imports and exports of 1754.

It is further to be observed, that the fish caught upon the coast and in the bays, far exceed the bank cod, and fetch an advanced price in foreign markets; the fishermen being on the spot, will commence fishing the very instant the season permits, and will continue to the very last of it; whereby at least, two months will be gained to the trade, which are just now, a heavy expence to it, without producing the least profit.

Next to the cod, in importance, is the whale fishery, which can be carried on to the greatest advantage in the River St. Lawrence, with less risk and expence than in any other seas, where these animals resort; under this head, may be placed, the seal and sea cow fisheries, of which there is a prodigious abundance, and an immense quantity of oil and whalebone may be annually exported to Great Britain.

There are several small rivers on the coast of Labrador, abounding with vast quantities of excellent salmon; this, if followed with spirit and industry, might very soon become a considerable object to the British trade.

4. His Majesty's yards may, by the best accounts, be supplied with masts from Chambly, at a much cheaper and easier rate than from New England; by the latter, a tedious land carriage of several miles, and the immense fall of a most rapid river, over which, they must be rafted, and where many are lost, must greatly enhance the value of this useful and necessary branch of naval stores; whereas, by the former, with little or no risk at all, at a proper season, there is an easy water carriage for them all the way to Quebec, the port for shipping them to Europe.

It is likewise probable that this very branch may be much further extended than ever it was under the French, by reason of the superior diligence and application of the British traders. It must be allowed the French were laudable in restraining the vent of spirituous liquors to the Savages, beyond a certain quantity. By this means many broils were avoided, for they are fond to excess of every thing strong, and are all mad in their intoxications.

Raising hemp and flax, for which the lands are in many places extremely proper, must be an object of the most serious consideration; and I must repeat here, how useful this must prove to the end of promoting Agriculture, of employing the women and children during the tedious winter months, and of procuring, in a short time, a vast exportation of that useful commodity, for which the returns will be made in British manufactures.

7. As the country every where abounds with oak, ash, walnut, birch, beech, maple, and other hard woods, which, by experience, are known to yield the most salts, the article of pot-ash so much demanded in our manufactories, may be easily produced and soon become an object of consequence; the essays for this purpose, which have been made in our other colonies and have miscarried, ought not to discourage an attempt in this; the high price of labour, the woods being in many parts remote from water carriage, and the great encouragement for growing and exporting



provisions to the West Indies, have been so many obstacles to the making pot ash in our colonies; whereas provisions here must be very cheap, in a few years, for the navigation being closed six months out of the twelve, this country can never vie with our Southern Colonies, in the West India trade; besides, the country being settled close to the river side, the conveyance of the commodity to the Port, where it is to be shipped, will be both cheap and easy; it will likewise be a means to employ the men all winter, in the business of felling and drawing of wood, which time they chiefly dedicate to idleness and smoking.

#### 10. CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE.

The Canadians may be reckoned under four different classes.

1. The gentry, they call the nobility.
2. The Clergy.
3. The Merchants, or trading part.
4. The Peasantry, or what is here stiled *Habitants*.

1. The GENTRY.—These are descended from military and civil officers, who have settled in the Country at different times, and were usually provided for in the Colony troops; these consisted formerly of twenty-eight, afterwards thirty, and had been lately augmented to thirty-three companies; they are in general poor, except such as have had commands in distant Posts, where they usually made a fortune in three or four years; the Croix de St. Louis quite completed their happiness.

They were extremely vain, and have an utter contempt of the trading part of the Colony, though they made no scruple to engage in it, pretty deeply too, whenever a convenient opportunity served; they were great tyrants to their vassals; who seldom met with redress, let their grievances be ever so just. This class will not relish the British Government, from which they neither can expect the same employment, or the same douceurs, they enjoyed under the French.

2. The CLERGY.—Most of the dignified among them, are French; the rest Canadians, and are, in general, of the lower class of people; the former no doubt will have great difficulty to reconcile themselves to us, but must drop off by degrees; few of the latter are very clever; however if the ecclesiastical state was once composed entirely of natives, they would soon become easy and satisfied; their influence over the people, was, and is still, very great; but though we have been so short a time in the Country, a difference it to be perceived; they do not submit so tamely to the yoke, and under sanction of the capitulation, they every day take an opportunity to dispute the tythes with their curés. These were moved from their respective Parishes at the Bishops pleasure, who thereby always kept them in awe. It may not be perhaps improper to adopt the same method in case his Majesty should think right, for the sake of keeping them in proper subjection, *to nominate them himself, or by those who act under his authority.*

It is not improbable that the Jesuits, warned by their late disgraces in the dominions of those potentates who seemed to favor them

the most, and apprehending the like or worse treatment from those they stile hereticks, will choose to dispose of their estates and retire. As they may, possibly, find some difficulty to get purchasers, the Government might buy their lands at an easy rate, and dispose of the same to many good purposes.

3. The *Traders* of this Colony, under the French, were either dealers in gros or retailers; the former were mostly French, and the latter, in general, natives of this Country; all of them are deeply concerned in the letters of Exchange, many are already gone to sollicit payment; and few of those who have any fund of consequence in France, will remain.

4. The fourth order is that of the Peasantry; these are a strong healthy race, plain in their dress, virtuous in their morals and temperate in their living; they are in general extremely ignorant, for the former Government would never suffer a printing press in the Country; few can read or write, and all receive implicitly for truth the many errant falsehoods and atrocious lies, industriously handed among them, by those who are in power.

They took particular pains to persuade them, the English were worse than brutes; and that, if they prevailed, the Canadians would be ruled with a rod of iron, and be exposed to every outrage; this most certainly did not a little contribute to make them obstinate in their defence; however, ever since the conquest, I can with the greatest truth assert, that the troops have lived with the inhabitants, in a harmony unexampled even at home. I must here, in justice to those under my command in this Government, observe to your Lordships, that in the winter which immediately followed the reduction of this country, when from the calamities of war, and a bad harvest, the inhabitants of these lower parts were exposed to all the horrors of a famine, the officers of every rank, even in the lowest, generously contributed towards alleviating the distresses of the unfortunate Canadians by a large subscription; the British merchants and traders readily and chearfully assisted in this good work; even the poor soldiers threw in their mite, and all gave a day's provision or a day's pay in the month, towards the fund; by this means, a quantity of provisions were purchased and distributed with great care and assiduity to a number of poor families, who without this charitable support, must have inevitably perished; such an instance of uncommon generosity towards the conquered, did the highest honor to their conquerors, and convinced these poor deluded people, how grossly they had been imposed upon. The daily instances of lenity, the impartial justice which has been administered, so far beyond what they had formerly experienced,\* have so altered their opinion with regard to us, I may safely venture to affirm, for this most useful order of the state, that they have not the least design to emigrate from their present habitations into any other of the French Colonies. Their greatest

\* The General might have added, that it is only in well balanced Governments, not in Despotisms, or Democracies, that justice is well administered—In England the law is the Sovereign, its will executed in its Courts of Justice,



*State of the Weather at Quebec, from annual Observations.*

| Place.  | Times.               | Fair. | Cloudy. | Rain. | Snow. | Hail. | Frost. | Thun. | Hazy. | No. of Ob. |
|---------|----------------------|-------|---------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|------------|
| Quebec. | 1743<br>and<br>1744. | 277   | 128     | 88    | 32    | 4     | 14     | 7     | 0     | 405.       |

*A view of the extremes of Heat and Cold, at Quebec, for ten years, beginning with the year 1800.*

| Years. | Extreme Cold. |       |       | Extreme Heat. |       |       |
|--------|---------------|-------|-------|---------------|-------|-------|
|        | Months.       | Days. | Cold. | Months.       | Days. | Heat. |
| 1800   | Jan.          | 29    | 6     | July,         | 6     | 96    |
|        | —             | 30    | 4     | —             | 8     | 92    |
| 1801   | Jan.          | 4     | 10    | July          | 31    | 89    |
|        | Feb.          | 13    | 10    | August        | 9     | 89    |
| 1802   | Jan.          | 23    | 15    | July          | 27    | 86    |
|        | Feb.          | 6     | 20    | August        | 10    | 84    |
| 1803   | Jan.          | 4     | 18    | July          | 8     | 93    |
|        | Feb.          | 1     | 14    | —             | 9     | 97    |
| 1804   | Jan.          | 20    | 17    | June          | 22    | 90    |
|        | —             | 21    | 22    | —             | 23    | 90    |
| 1805   | Jan.          | 3     | 18    | July          | 14    | 89    |
|        | —             | 5     | 20    | —             | 15    | 91    |
| 1806   | Jan.          | 17    | 8     | July          | 14    | 84    |
|        | Feb.          | 6     | 8     | —             | 15    | 85    |
| 1807   | Jan.          | 22    | 15    | July          | 12    | 96    |
|        | —             | 26    | 20    | —             | 27    | 95    |
| 1808   | Jan.          | 3     | 12    | June          | 23    | 91    |
|        | —             | 16    | 13    | July          | 16    | 96    |
| 1809   | Jan.          | 14    | 26    | June          | 27    | 92    |
|        | Feb.          | 4     | 23    | July          | 9     | 90    |
| 1810   | Jan.          | 20    | 26    | June          | 18    | 90    |
|        | Feb.          | 10    | 22    | —             | 19    | 90    |

In the Column respecting the Cold, the figures denote below zero.

*Magnetic Observations made in Canada.*

| Places.       | Time.        | Variation | Obser.                               |
|---------------|--------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|
|               | 1649         | 16° 0. W. | Des Hayes.                           |
|               | 1686         | 15. 30.   |                                      |
| Quebec.       | 1785         | 12. 30.   | } Holland Surveyor General of Canada |
|               | October 1793 | 12 5.     |                                      |
| Three Rivers. | 1785         | 9- 30.    |                                      |
| Montreal.     | August 1749  | 10. 38.   | M. Gullon.                           |
|               | 1785         | 8. 24.    | Holland.                             |











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